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by

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INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AND WORKERS' PARTICIPATION ISSUES :A CASE STUDY OF THE GREEK TELECOMMUNICATIONS SECTOR

Alexander Afouxenidis

Abstract

Questions and problems related to the articulation of industrial relations structures in modern society have been matters for long debate over a number of years. However, the establishment of industrial relations formations is a product of a variety of complex societal processes located inside and outside the immediate industrial environment. This thesis examines the links that exist between wider societal processes and systems of industrial relations and workers' participation with reference to the Greek Telecommunications Sector.

In the first instance (Chapter 1), issues of economy and society that have an effect upon industrial relations are examined with reference to the processes of global economic development, capital accumulation, dependency and the more recent phenomena of 'flexible specialization' and 'post-Fordism'. These are related to the presentation of industrial relations structures (Chapter 2) which are examined using comparative evidence to illustrate their various differences and similarities. It is argued that industrial relations and workers' participation structures have to be examined in the light of national and international patterns of political, social and economic development. Also, a critical evaluation of contemporary approaches to industrial relations is presented.

Chapter 3 is concerned with identifying and evaluating the main issues related to Greek economic and social development. That is examined in relation to the position of the country in the international division of labour and also to the national characteristics that articulate the specific nature of labour relations. Chapter 4 presents the case of the Telecommunication Sector using empirical material drawn from various sources, from observation and from employee responses to a questionnaire. The framework of industrial participation is discussed both in relation to the internal circumstances of the industry and also to the more general environment in which it is located. Finally, Chapter 5 re-evaluates the categories of 'industrial participation' and 'employment' in the specific context of Greek societal development and considers the validity of some of the concepts used in contemporary discussions of labour organization.

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Pandeli Glavanis who initially supervised this work, provided for some stimulating discussions on how the subject should be tackled. Prof. Richard Brown's assistance and supervision during the latter and difficult period of writing deserves more than a mention. I thank him for listening to my 'scientific' explorations without feeling discontent and also for his excellent advice.

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INTRODUCTION

There can be no doubt that 'industrial relations' and 'workers' participation' processes form part of contemporary society. The structure of particular industrial relations mechanisms depends on a variety of factors which have influenced the overall development of society. 'Industrial relations', therefore, is not something that can be examined outside the societal context. In order to evaluate its development we have to look at those processes that take place behind the actual institutionalised forms that shape it.

However, the problems in evaluating 'industrial relations' practices are many and complex.

The first is related to the nature of industrial relations 'theory' (referred from now on as Industrial Relations). In academic and theoretical terms, Industrial Relations has been predominantly concerned with examining the particular mechanisms (rules and regulations) that characterize the nature of industrial relations in the place of work. These evaluations either describe (through the use of empirical evidence) the characteristics of the system or put it into the more general framework of class analysis. In the first paradigm (which is part of the British tradition) industries and relations within the industrial context, are examined through the use of a few major variables; the role of trade unions, the role of government, collective bargaining and so on. In the second paradigm, industrial relations and workers' participation are related to other more general categories and may include motivation to work, organizational theories, issues of power and conflict,

class relations and in many investigations evaluations of particular working environments. Although there are significant differences between the two types of approach (which are of course very general categorizations), there is in many cases, the tendency to 'objectify' the industrial relations process; to create the impression that industrial relations are at the centre of social activity where issues such as the capital-labour contradiction and antagonisms between management and labour are explicitly defined. In this sense, Industrial Relations (especially its more 'radical' tradition) claims the production of theory. At the same time, there are problems in identifying and evaluating the processes of 'workers' participation'. In many respects this area of 'industrial relations' has been the subject of debate between 'conservative' and 'liberal' theories. There are many different propositions on what 'workers' participation' is supposed to include and subsequently many definitions. Again, the tendency to 'theorize' the issue is apparent. In these terms, 'workers' participation' is an area of ideologically derived theories which define it in terms of 'ideal type' presuppositions. Thus, all such theory is based on preconceived ideas and does not really consider the fact that 'participatory' structures are simply products of societal relations (and/or antagonisms) and that it is those relations that have to be theorized and analyzed.

A second problem is related to the nature of Industrial Relations analyses. Their traditional backgrounds re-create deterministic and parochial patterns. The mechanisms themselves that characterize industrial relations in a particular industry or in a particular societal context, become immovable objects of explanation and/or criticism. That is because Industrial Relations

in itself cannot generalize about the nature of relations in industry, outside the context with which it is concerned. It can only look at the internal variables that shape industrial relations at a particular point in time, in a particular context. In that sense Industrial Relations does not provide for a theory of industrial development, nor can it explain the multiplicity of linkages that characterize that development. The 'Anglo-Saxon' tradition especially is parochial in one more respect : it has tended to look at industrial relations from a predominantly 'national' perspective without taking into consideration the role of international developments in shaping the 'local' characteristics. In this sense, Industrial Relations becomes even more 'linear' in its explanation of the work process.

Consequently, and due to the above, Industrial Relations has not managed to produce comprehensive explanations of the working environment. Nor should it seek to do so. At the same time, it has not become part of wider inter-disciplinary approaches, and it has not really managed to interpret situations whilst relating them to theoretical considerations.

The major problem is, however, whether we can examine the multiplicity of events that shape the industrial environment using the methodological tools of Industrial Relations. As contemporary society grows even more complex these (and other) tools become redundant. In the first instance, there is doubt cast on whether we can present 'complete' explanations of society and subsequently of industrial relations. Within every societal context each individual and institution is shaped by a multiplicity of interlinked factors.

Position in industry (whether employee or manager) is only one of those elements. In order to interpret the relations within industry and the institutions that characterize it, it is necessary to examine societal relations and their articulation in a more general context. The characteristics of industrial relations and workers' participation form a product of 'social evolution' or of economic, political, cultural, ideological and other elements. All these come into inter-play in a heterogeneous fashion, collide and produce the various societal conjunctures. They are not static but dynamic and subsequently the explanations that social science gives them has to be dynamic and not universal or mono-causal.

Starting from the assumption that contemporary interactions of society have to be 'free' from 'one-dimensional' patterns of thought, the thesis attempts to present the issue of industrial relations in the Greek Telecommunications Sector through the adoption of an 'open' perspective.

The first two chapters illustrate the main factors that influence industrial relations procedures. Chapter 1 is concerned with what we call the 'external' factors. 'Industrial relations' is placed within the macro-sociological environment which determines its formation. Analysis begins from an examination of the link between the forces and relation of production. The interrelationship of those two elements 'produces' a variety of other (important) societal phenomena that have major repercussions for the articulation of industrial relations practices. The main phenomena which stem from the general field of 'production

relations' are related to capital-labour relations (and contradictions), capital accumulation and the process of globalization. Subsequently, Chapter 1 examines the formation and development of the processes of 'internationalization' and 'dependency' from the colonial period to the present. These are also related to the emergence of the industrialized nations, the domination of industry and technology over the non-industrial nations and the subsequent patterns of accumulation that are incorporated into the above processes (such as 'Fordism', flexible accumulation, etc). The concepts of 'metropoly' - 'periphery', and of 'dependency' are also scrutinized. Finally, recent shifts in the economy are examined.

The theoretical definitions of the above processes are also critically evaluated. In general terms, the major parameter of the analysis is linked to two points : firstly, that the historical (and more recent) changes that have occurred in society are products of the social relations of production. These changes though, are not homogeneously established and more importantly they do not reproduce societal effects in a linear fashion. Therefore, although a process such as 'dependency' for example (it could be another category) may occur (and its results may be obvious), it does not (alone) constitute a general explanatory framework for the evaluation of the totality of societal development; it may not even be adequate for explanations related to the totality of relations within a particular society. Secondly, because the categories of 'industrial relations' and 'workers' participation' are very limited in explaining general trends of societal and/or industrial development, evaluations of the working environment have to take into consideration the specific nature of categories that are to be found

outside the immediate institutional framework of 'labour relations', (something that is attempted in later chapters concerned with the Greek case).

Chapter 2 is concerned with the identification of different modes of industrial relations that are to be found in various countries. The major parameters examined in Chapter 1, which produce industrial relations and workers' participation practices, are related in Chapter 2 to the various expressions of labour relations. Industrial Relations is in itself evaluated, in connection to those different formations. Comparative evidence suggests that although there are similarities between various industrial relations systems, there are also important disparities that stem from the different environment within which these systems are located. Therefore, the examination and explanation of industrial relations and workers' participation structures has to take into consideration the various historical, social and economic processes that have been the determinant elements in the formation of different types of industrial structures. The role of the EEC (and of international developments) is also exposed in order to appreciate the possible impact of the 'internationalization' process in the national domain of labour relations practices. At the same time, new forms of industrial relations are also examined. These are scrutinized not only in relation to whether they actually form a new platform (in terms of a 'radical' shift from past practices), but also in relation to the effects they may have on the labour force. Therefore, some processes, not usually examined by Industrial Relations (such as the informal sector, cheap and migrant

labour, etc) are brought into the debate, and are later re-evaluated in Chapter 5, in relation to the Greek public sector and Telecommunications.

Consequently, the analysis has two more dimensions and these are followed throughout the thesis. The first is related to the examination of industrial relations (theory and practice) and to the various problems associated with the development of those systems. The second is connected to the location of industrial relations within a more general societal framework. That is related to the general categories examined in Chapter 1, but is also linked to a society's social, political, economic and other 'specificities' that are important in shaping the particular ways in which industrial relations formations occur.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are concerned with the examination of industrial relations and workers' participation in the context of contemporary Greece with specific reference to the public sector industry of Telecommunications.

In Chapter 3, Greek social and economic development is examined in order to distinguish the main features and trends that give rise to industrial relations patterns in the Telecommunications Sector. Greece is located within the international division of labour and the 'dependent' character of economic development is exposed as one of the major factors that have led to the present social formation of the country. The development of the public sector and the role of the state, together with events of the post-Second World War period, are also outlined and their impact on societal phenomena is exposed.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the examination of the Telecommunications Sector. The nature of the problems found in the industry are explained in terms of the specificity of the overall societal development which has influenced the methods and practices adopted in the sector. To analyze and expose the institutional formations of industrial relations and workers' participation by referring solely to the specific organizational structures would not indicate the reasons for their emergence. Therefore, although the analysis of the Telecommunications Sector clearly exposes the character of the issues, it has to be seen in the context of Greek development as a whole. At the same time, employees' reactions are recorded and illustrated in the last part of the chapter.

The process of collecting data is, as we shall see, an indicative factor in itself. Given the relative absence of such type of analysis in Greece and the fact that there has never been a similar examination of the Telecommunications sector, the study presented a number of practical problems related not only to the construction of an adequate questionnaire, but also to how research would be undertaken (see Chapter 4). However, the significance of the results should be seen in the context of the discussion in Chapters 3 and 5. The information from a sample of 251 employees working in Athens, was later coded and analyzed using the SPSSX program. Results clearly indicate the general nature of the industrial relations structure found in the industry. They also illustrate a number of other important features that form part not only of the particular sector, but of Greek public sector development. All possible inter-relations that could be found and

which were of some significance, are examined. Finally, Chapter 4 looks at the position of the industry within the national and international conjunctures.

Chapter 5 re-evaluates the underlying concepts of Industrial Relations and examines the role of labour and the union movement in the Telecommunications Sector in relation to some more general societal phenomena found in Greece. The notions of 'flexibility' and 'Fordism' examined in Chapters 1 and 2 are re-examined in relation to Greece and Southern Europe, and the position of Greece in international economic development is briefly summarized in order to expose possible similarities and differences.

Finally, appendix 1 presents the questionnaire used in the employee survey.

This thesis therefore, presents the major parameters that are seen to influence the processes of industrial relations and workers' participation with specific reference to the Greek Telecommunications Sector. Comparative evidence illustrates the differences and similarities that exist amongst various societal formations. At the same time, the issues are related to general changes in the international division of labour and to some more recent shifts occurring in industrial organization. The main theoretical evaluations of the above are presented and discussed. Greece and the Telecommunications Sector are located within the global context; however, the issues are also linked to the national, and very specific, social and economic circumstances. Consequently, a detailed analysis of the problems is presented, both in relation to industrial relations in general and with reference to the

industry in question. However, the thesis does not attempt to adopt a specific 'model' of 'industrial relations' and/or 'workers' participation', and neither does it attempt to present 'complete' answers and 'solutions' to complex issues and societal phenomena.

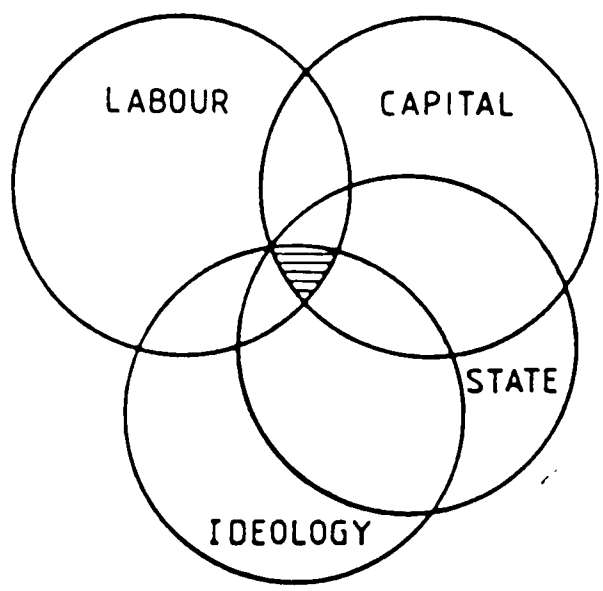
CHAPTER 1

THE CONTEXT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Industrial relations, however it is defined, is part of the wider horizontal and vertical processes which shape the development of society. It is one of the products of societal development and as such it is subject to particular influences (and restraints) of the development process.

More specifically, it is an expression of the whole trajectory which shapes the complexity of any social structure. It is part of the working environment which in turn is related to forms of capital accumulation, to the globalisation process and to political mechanisms such as the state (Fig. 1.1). It is also a result of factors which relate to elements other than the organization of work and industry per se; factors connected to culture, ideology and history. An evaluation of all these concepts has to involve a critical re-examination of Industrial Relations as a separate theoretical field of study. Just like any other human practice, industrial relations is based upon an interrelation of many different factors (sometimes contradictory, sometimes running in parallel) which are dominant in shaping the characteristics of the working environment. Simultaneously, industrial relations is subjected to particular features and trends of particular societies. Labour relations are objective because they are a



industrial relations,
industrial participation

Figure 1.1 : Industrial relations as part of wider socio-economic processes

manifestation of the totality of the productive process. But, because of the distinctive nature of society they are 'subjective' with regards to how they are expressed in particular environments. In this sense, Industrial Relations theory can only be concerned with the analysis and description of the working environment, and as such it is limited, by definition, to looking at work relations within a specific spatial and historical context. (We shall return to this issue later). Industrial Relations theory is not capable of generalisations (and/or abstractions) and does not, therefore, offer a substantive and coherent framework upon which an examination of labour relations as a societal process can be evaluated.

A similar type of analysis can be applied to the area of workers participation. Again, this process takes several forms which depend upon wider socio-economic factors. It is one of the many discourses of production and there is no linear and mono-causal explanation of its development. Existing literature has tended to look at industrial participation either from a systematic (but usually parochial and static) examination of particular case studies or from the more general point of elaborating upon the necessity of more (or less) participation at work. However, the main point is to shift the debate into the plane of examining the whole process of participation as a result of other societal conjunctures.

The major areas of examination are related to the dynamics of economic and political factors and how these elements articulate to

produce patterns of industrial participation. More specifically, the role of capital accumulation in the production process and its requirements in relation to labour are important elements that shape the network of industrial relations. At the same time, political factors (such as the position of the state in relation to industrial democracy) are also influential in determining industrial relations practices (Fig. 1.2).

These are two general macro-sociological categories. They are the manifestations of a variety of other interconnected elements which are never static but are always in motion. Therefore, the analysis will begin from those elements which are outside the immediate experience of 'industrial relations' and 'workers' participation' but on which the latter totally depend.

1.2 The interdependence of the forces and relations of production

The development of industrial relations as something that occurs in society is an effect, primarily, of the articulation of many factors that are related to the interaction of capital and labour in the production process.

In order to explain why industrial relations takes a particular form, the state of the capital-labour relationship has to be examined in the context of a particular societal environment which may have its own distinct peculiarities (on the economic and socio-political levels) and which, in turn, gives industrial relations its shape. But, industrial relations do not express the

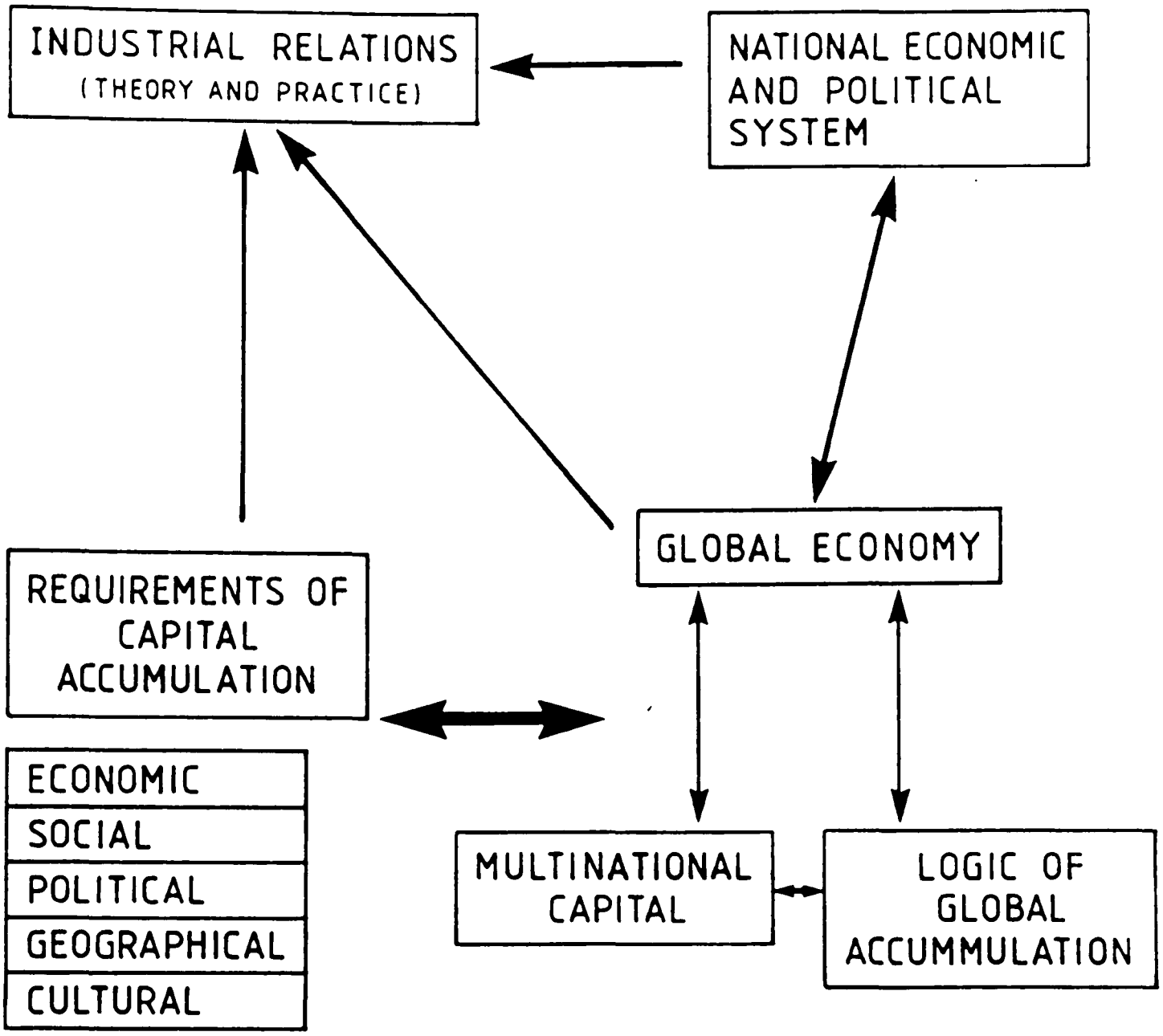


Figure 1.2 : A schematic representation of some factors that determine the development of industrial relations.

totality of the capital-labour contradiction and development. The process of industrial relations (and workers' participation) is only an instance in the more general movement of structuring and re-structuring that takes place within the production process. It is part of the wider process of production relations. Workers' participation, as well, falls under the same category: in terms of the whole of the production process human beings participate in its control and development. The specific forms this participation takes depend upon the articulation and interdependence of the forces and relations of production.

In general terms, the most important element of this 'participation' process is the interaction between human beings and nature. Man, through and because of the production process, acts upon nature in order to satisfy basic needs. This is not a linear process because man is part of the natural environment as well and because the crucial factor of the interaction process is labour. In other words, the forces of production are not only to be found in the 'instruments' human beings use to act upon nature, but also in the process of using them, that is the labour process. It is the interweaving of natural or raw materials, the instruments (or objects) of work and the work itself which constitute the labour process and which form part of the forces of production. At the same time these processes are not outside 'nature' itself: they are part of it and sustained by it, while simultaneously they form a 'natural environment' by themselves. The parameters of labour means of production and nature (in terms of the environment as well as human nature) form the general underlying basis for the development of complicated societal structures.

According to Marx, production, irrespective of the forms it takes, is a process in which human beings participate with nature in order to create useful things. Thus 'labour is, in the first place, a process in which both man and nature participate, and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates and controls the material reactions between himself and nature. He opposes himself to Nature as one of her own forces, setting in motion arms and legs, head and hands, the natural forces of his body in order to appropriate Nature's production in a form adopted to his own wants.'[1] In those terms, human beings change nature, but at the same time because they are a part of nature, change their own existence (their own 'nature'). Therefore, the forces of production do not simply constitute an accumulation of separate productive elements, but form a dialectic interrelationship - a system which is not linear and static but transforms, changes and develops.

At each historical instance there are changes not only of each separate productive factor, but also of the forms and the ways that are articulating the whole of the production process. However, the productive forces can only be identified as such as long as they are put into motion; they have to be used 'productively' by man. Again, at each historical period there are variations in the process of the development of the forces of production, but what distinguishes them is not what is produced but rather how it is produced. There are two main elements which have to be identified here : first, the fact that production in general exists in society and second, that production must also be identified within a particular societal context since it entails a specific set of social relationships. For Marx both these elements

are interwoven :'whenever we speak of production then, what is meant is always production at a definite stage of social development - production by social individuals. It might seem, therefore, that in order to talk about production at all we must either pursue the process of historic development through its different phases, or declare beforehand that we are dealing with a specific historic epoch such as e.g. modern bourgeois production...However, all epochs of production have certain common traits, common characteristics. Production in general is an abstraction, but a rational abstraction in so far as it really brings out and fixes the common element and thus saves us repetition. Still, this general category, this common element sifted out by comparison, is itself segmented many times over and splits into different determinations. Some determinations belong to all epochs, others only to a few'.[2]

Although, the concept of production in general provides for a general analytical framework of common characteristics of all societies, it does not provide for the 'uncommon' sets of social relationships and development which occur in a particular societal formation. Production takes place because human beings cooperate in a given way and this is the decisive factor for the development of social structures and relations. In the general development of the forces of production, human activity and the forms it takes is the most influential factor of the whole process. A moment of human activity is crystallised through the labour process which includes the instruments of labour. In these terms the dialectic interrelationship between man and the production process must be looked at as a whole, instead of trying to identify whether the instruments of labour, or labour itself are the predominant factors in the development of the production process.

The productive forces express the general development of society and the relations between human beings and the natural environment. Man uses the instruments of labour to produce and thus engages in the labour process activity. At the same time, the social relations of production transform the totality of production relations and are transformed through the development of the forces of production and more specifically of the means of production. Social processes are not the result of the development of one factor only (for example, technology), but correspond to a variety of social and natural factors in a given historical context.[3] Thus, the meaning of the productive forces includes the process and the objects of labour. The quantity of useful products (or, use-values) produced in a given period of time changes in relation to the quantity and quality of the object of labour which is used in the same period. In this sense 'products are therefore not only results, but also essential conditions of labour'.[4]

The importance of these categories of the forces of production lies in the fact that they crystallise a specific moment of production relations. The development of the totality of the objects of labour and the means of production is one of the most characteristic expressions of the whole system of production relations. The latter include the social relations of production, the ownership of the productive forces or in more general terms the given set of socio-economic relations and structures that exist in different historical periods. From the fact that production has as a prerequisite human activity, and that production means consumption at the same time, rises the whole system of production

relations. These are the expression of the relationships human beings develop not only with nature but between themselves. For Marx then, 'production is also immediately consumption. Twofold consumption, subjective and objective : the individual not only develops his abilities in production, but also extends them, uses them up in the act of production just as natural procreation is a consumption of life forces. Secondly, consumption of the means of production which became not through use and are partly (e.g. in combustion) dissolved into their elements again. Likewise, consumption of the raw material, which loses its natural form and composition by being used up. The act of production is therefore in all its moments also an act of consumption ... Production then, is also immediately consumption, consumption is also immediately production. Each is immediately opposite. But at the same time a mediating movement takes place between the two. Production mediates consumption; it creates the latter's material, without it, consumption would lack an object. But consumption also mediates production in that it alone creates for the products the subject for whom they are products. The product only obtains its 'last finish' in consumption'.[5]

Therefore, production and consumption are formations of a single whole. Through this activity human beings create the complex network of interdependent processes. Production and consumption also require distribution and exchange as the intermediary links between them. This system of interrelationships is also a prerequisite for production relations which crystallise the formation of social and economic relations and the position of capital and labour within that system. According to Marx, 'in the social production of their life, men

enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness.'[6]

The relationship between the categories of production forces and production relations and between the latter and other forms of social relations is not a static concept but a dynamic one. The development of the forces of production exerts an influence on other aspects of social life. But, they require the necessary relations of production to correspond to them. However, this is not a mechanical formulation: the development of the forces of production does not automatically result in changing the production relations.[7] A particular level of development of the production forces requires a certain degree of development of the relations of production. But, when the latter reach a stage when they do not satisfy the conditions for further developing the former then they must be changed in order to produce a new 'equilibrium' between the two (or vice-versa).

Societal relations are closely linked to the forces of production. There can be no distinction between the two because one requires the other, just like production is also consumption. The most crucial element in the discussion of the forces and relations of production is to understand them as parts of 'whole'. The 'whole' is social life in general, these categories being expressions of it. Similarly, 'it can certainly be said that there

is a minimum level of productive forces without which any set of production relations cannot be sustained, and it is also true that any set of production relations can permit or encourage only so much change in the forces of production and only in a limited range of forms. But it would be quite another matter to suggest that there is a particular set of productive forces to match every set of production relations (or vice versa), or that development in one must go step by step in tandem with the other. Productive forces establish the ultimate conditions of the possible, but the range of production relations that can be sustained by any set of productive forces is quite broad; and the various changes in production relations that have occurred cannot be explained simply by reference to the development of productive forces...'[8]

The articulation of the forces and relations of production (i.e. the mode of production of material goods) is not something that can be measured in order to discover which one is primary. As we noted, they both form part of the social 'whole', they can be distinguished methodologically, but theoretically they are interconnected. In general terms productive forces are much more likely to develop at a faster pace than production relations. For example, a country may employ the very latest production techniques while at the same time having very traditional labour relations structures. Nevertheless, the relations of production will be determining the formation of other social phenomena in a given society. These are not absolute categories but evolving ones which form an integral part of the totality of social and economic relations. Therefore, the possible distinctions and contradictions between forces and relations of production must not be looked upon

as a general formula of development but rather examined in concrete ways. The point is not simply to evaluate whether one is more primary than the other or to demonstrate their correlation but to regard them, and all the other instances of social life that they create, as parts of a 'whole'.

An important element of the mode of production is how this social activity is structured. In general, co-operation between human beings constitutes in itself a 'productive force'. But, 'co-operation' is expressed in different ways depending on the specific conditions of production. Division of labour and organisation of production are both ways to conduct and regulate production. Those categories also form part of the whole network of production relations. The participation of human beings into the production process through the division of labour is an integral part of the forces of production and exists in all societal formations.[9]

The forms it takes depend upon the development of society, the specificity of the mode and the processes of production and upon their combination. The same applies with respect to the organisation of production. The specific way that labour power is brought together and the means of production used, correspond to the more general articulation of a social and economic era. Division of labour and organisation of production express each in its own terms the development of society. The diverse nature of society can be manifested through those two categories and more specifically through their formations. The articulation of these

elements expressed the 'state' of production not only in its economic but also in its social sense. Therefore, the arrangement of those elements in any society does not only formulate the specific combination of forces and relations of production; in addition the whole structure of society is to a certain extent defined in political, juridical and other social and ideological structures. In those terms the process can be evaluated irrespective of the specific nature of the mode of production. However, the ways these factors mediate in any societal context is of primary importance to social and economic theory. By conceptualizing the concept of the forces and relations of production (and also of the division of labour and of organisation of production) as primarily social relations, means that in concrete terms, they are simply expressions of a particular societal context and therefore can be changed.

1.3 Production and capital accumulation

Production relations are of fundamental significance in the history of human development. The production of material goods at each historical period presents certain particular characteristics. In general terms, property relations are themselves expressed in a definite system of production relations. The ultimate limits of these relations are determined by the movement of products from the sphere of production through exchange and distribution, into consumption. The latter itself depends on production because it is 'the aim of production'.[10]

Consequently, production relations imply the forms in which the producer is brought together with the means of labour within the production process. Production relations also imply the totality of relations in exchange and distribution of labour and products. In an increasingly complex economic environment, the nature of these activities becomes even more difficult to articulate and define. The division of labour in society requires a wider distribution of the means of production and in the case of capitalism that presupposes the concentration of those means in the form of private property.

In the sphere of the production process (and more specifically in the capitalist mode of production) there are three important areas of concern which can be methodologically distinguished : capital accumulation, division of labour, and the subsequent dissociation of the labour force from the means of production which results in the concepts of fetishism and commodification of labour. Marx, very intricately, develops the arguments in relation to the whole of the capitalist production process as a predominantly social relation resulting in the structures of distribution of the means of production, private appropriation and surplus value and the specific relations between them. These concepts and their interrelationships form the structure of contemporary capitalist society. The categories of capital accumulation and the activity of labour form the major parameters of the structure and its main contradiction.

The process of the division of labour is also specifically related to the movement from the social division of labour where individuals and communities have access to different means of

individuals and communities have access to different means of production, to the capitalist division of labour which requires the amalgamation of individual producers under and for the interests of capital. At the same time though, the social division of labour is enhanced due to the splitting up of production into its main elements. However, the important factor here is that products are converted into commodities just as labour is. Therefore, the social division of labour develops in parallel but also in contradiction to the capitalist, both being revised because of their mutual expansion. But division of labour through commodification is an essential feature of capitalist production because it creates and reproduces alienation (reification). The values being produced in the form of capital are expanded and take on an existence which looks to be independent of the forces and relations of production.[11]

In Marxist terms, all false categories (such as reification) have to be penetrated. In those terms the concept of alienation remains one of the central features of capital-labour relations, simply because the co-operation of individuals ceases to be expressed in social terms but is instead expressed in use and exchange values. According to Marx, 'this fixation of social activity, this consolidation of what we ourselves produce into an objective power above us, growing out of our control, thwarting our expectations, bringing to nought our calculations, is one of the chief factors in historical development up till now. The social power, i.e. the multiplied productive force which arises through co-operation of different individuals as it is determined by the division of labour appears to these individuals ... not as their own united power, but as an alien force existing outside them, or the origin and goal of which they are ignorant which they thus cannot control, which on the contrary passes through a peculiar

series of phases and stages independent of the will and the action of man; nay even being the prime governor of these'.[12]

In the production process, labour and the division of labour are decisive factors for capital and more specifically for capital accumulation. Capital in itself is a social relation which occurs in the production process. Capital accumulation, in general, occurs primarily because of the production of surplus value. There is a variety of interlinked themes that Marx and subsequent writers have identified on the issue of the labour process and capital accumulation.

Firstly, it is important to note the level of the production power of labour. The process of accumulation is very much influenced by the degree of productivity of 'social labour'. As the productive power of labour increases so does surplus value. This is because of the increase in the mass of products (which embody a certain value) and the consequential increase of surplus value. In this sense, if the scale of reproduction extends materially, the production of surplus value increases more rapidly than the value of the additional capital used (variable and constant). In general terms, higher productivity results in greater quantities of use-values and an increase in surplus value (see also Capital Vol.I pp.296-304).

Secondly, capital has to accumulate and reproduce because of, and due to, the above process (other things being equal). In consequence, specific relations between labour-power and the appropriations of surplus value are created. But, the distinctive feature of the capitalist mode of production is not only the articulation of those relations but the fact that they occur

simultaneously to the production of surplus value. An element, which is of course very much related to capital valorization, is its reproduction process on an enlarging scale through world competition and the establishment of international markets. Therefore, the process of capital accumulation operates also through the mechanism of competition not only between individual capitalists, but between firms of various sizes on an increasing geographical scale.

This process (as any other) is not uniform and there are different factors which influence and determine its development. The level of social and political relations is a factor closely interlinked to the accumulation process, as is the general standard of production techniques, the provision of cheap (or expensive) raw materials and whether in general, an economy is characterised by the production of use or exchange values or by a combination of both.

Finally, the overall differentiations in the level of capital accumulation is very much related to where capital is already centralized and is associated with uneven development. This particular sort of diversity, under any mode of production, must be accounted for by the whole, closely interlinked, network of social and historical factors which come into play.

1.4 Intermediary point on the importance of the above categories

Evaluating the nature of the process of production through its social characteristics in particular modes of production, can lead to an understanding of industrial relations patterns. This is not to say that production relations should be seen in correspondence to industrial relations because in that case the whole articulation of other important factors would be lost.

The production forces, the labour process and capital accumulation synthesized as social relations create a whole process of mutually interconnected activities. Therefore, the process of production is a complex network of cooperation by people inside a factory and also outside it, who participate in an extended division of labour between firms, industrial branches and regions.

As the scale of production grows these connections become even more complicated bringing about changes in whole spheres of not only the production process itself, but also the wider society, i.e. changes in the economic and socio-political domains. In every mode of production, these are related to the possibilities the system has for adaptation and change. In turn, these do not directly involve the relatively closed system of relations within a particular industry. From a methodological point of view, industrial relations and workers participation are instances of the whole of the mode of production. Subsequently, they have to be explained as 'products' of particular social and economic circumstances.

Also, industrial relations is an expression of the general state of capital-labour relations but not the only characteristic. In this sense, it is part of production relations, although in no way can it define this process.

Although there are variations in the structures of industrial relations practices 'as a matter of plain historical fact very little control over the labour process has been relinquished

voluntarily, and what element of control has been 'given' to workers has usually only been given when compensated for by increased or stabilised production. Really, lack of 'progress' to 'industrial democracy' should cause no surprise, unless it is assumed that capitalists or their agents are blandly indifferent to future levels of profitability, and moreover, actually like taking risks with workers, and the rights of private property.'[13]

As the productive forces and relations of production develop continuous changes occur in the economic and social structure of society which affect the various organisational and hierarchical forms. The distinction between private and public sectors, the position of the state and legislation and the development of big corporations with international influence are processes which play a highly influential role in the shaping of industrial relations. Concurrently, the development of political and ideological 'superstructures' also influences the system of relations of the workplace.

These elements are not 'final' and 'eternal'. In this way, it is not only important to note that different aspects of production are connected with each other, it is also important to look under what mode of production they occur, what is its objective and how it is regulated. The classical tradition of Industrial Relations views the process as one of the fundamental social facts and attempts to evaluate it as central in the development of industrial organizations.

In this way, Industrial Relations 'theory' fails to explain why such processes occur in industry. Therefore, all such theorising remains unintegrated into a more general and dynamic theory of society and/or of social change.

1.5 Globalisation and dependency

As we have seen, the process of production is based upon human co-operation and a linking of the various factors of production. In this way, there is nothing extraordinary about the enlargement of that process on a world scale.

However, the process of capital accumulation not only is intertwined with globalisation, but also related to formations of dependency (whether mutual and advantageous or the opposite) and underdevelopment. These parameters of world development are very important because they characterise the international context in which production relations take place. They are also important in relation to the articulation of particular modes of industrial relations in various national contexts and in partly explaining why and how these have evolved and under what conditions.

In contemporary terms, there can be doubt that the development of national economic systems (and/or national capitalist economies) and the subsequent development of manufacturing techniques (Fordist, flexible, etc) and bargaining methods (collective, syndicalist, etc.) do not occur in isolation. National boundaries have expanded to global conditions and the distinctions that can be

found do not exist only in terms of metropoly-periphery relations but also in intra-regional disparities within one nation and differences amongst industrialised countries from region to region and between sectors of the same industry.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the gap between the technologically advanced countries and the rest of the world accelerated and they increasingly dominated the regions that were left behind. The emergence of the colonial period meant that many nations and regions were assimilated into the world market without being able to participate in that process on equal terms. At the same time 'the most important aspect of this disparity was the technical superiority of Western armaments, for this superiority enabled the West to impose its will on the much larger colonial populations. Advance in communication and transportation, notably railroads also became important tools for consolidating foreign rule over extensive territories'.[14]

Colonial expansion was not a linear process. It involved conflicts and contradictions and occurred over an intense and turbulent period where the balance of power was constantly redrawn. However, the drive for expansion was persistent, as were the pressures to get the greatest advantage possible out of the resulting opportunities.[15] These differences were reflected in the way classical political economy analysed the content of colonial expansion. For example Adam Smith was critical of the monopolistic tendencies that were established which meant that the

colonies had to pay higher prices for imports and receive less for exports. But in political terms, Smith accepted the continuous governing of the colonies in order to guarantee free trade in the future. His basic assumption was that if free and unrestrained trade was to be established it would mean the development of the colonies.

Contrary to Smith, other writers took the view that the colonies were 'uncivilised' and had to be under European rule in order to be 'improved'. Say, for example, 'distinguished between enlightened nations possessing a superior civilization' and 'savage nations' possessing an 'inferior civilization'. The individuals of the latter were rather passive and resigned, had a marked preference for leisure and were incapable of any national reflection and scientific activity.[16] Similar views were propounded by James Mill in relation to India, China and other British colonies.

Consequently, colonialism is also related to the social domain of society insofar as it initiated the idea of 'inequality' as being something natural. This view was based on the dominant ideologies of the time and served as justification for the continuation of oppression from the colonial regimes. In this way not only economic categories but also social categories were regarded as 'eternal' (a tradition which, in some parts, holds even today). To challenge that point of view, is to challenge the whole basis of economic and social relations which are structured on the principle of a necessary and dominant form of production. This is one of the fundamental criticisms made by Marx of classical political economy: 'the economic forms in which men produce, consume and exchange are transitory and historical' and 'as men develop their productive faculties that is, as they live, they

develop certain relations with one another and the nature of these relations must necessarily change with the change and growth of the productive faculties.' In other words, economic categories are not eternal but 'historical laws which are only laws for a particular historical development for a definite development of the productive forces'.[17]

Consequently, each historical period has its own particularities and instances. This is relevant to the discussion of the emergence of imperialism and on whether the expansion of capitalism has the same impact on a global scale. For example, the development of the railway system in India was seen by Marx as an advantage which would help industrialization but by 1879 his view was less optimistic given the circumstances that prevailed. The shift from the colonial period to the age of imperialism created the possibility that only a handful of countries would be enabled to participate more equally in the international division of labour, and that many economic and social processes which occurred during the former would be regenerated in the latter. Agricultural countries would still be exploited (if not in direct political terms), because they would be forced to sell their produce below its value. The specific relations that develop have to be examined in concrete terms in order to pick out the particular forms of inequality and exploitation that may occur from one period to another. Some countries may be artificially prevented from developing their own industry, others encouraged to develop particular branches of industry, while countries (such as the USA and other European nations) may be able to industrialize because of specific historical reasons which facilitate the development of the means of production.

The development of colonialism and imperialism is therefore an articulation of complex economic and political phenomena. Imperialist foundations have also to penetrate into distinct modes of production. Thus, 'capital will only be invested if it produces an increase in the rates of profit for the sector from which it originates - either by enhancing its own enlarged reproduction, or by realising profits from the new units of production it establishes in the penetrated formation'.[18] At this point, it is also important to note the different theoretical approaches in relation to the articulation of modes of production. In general, the development of capitalist (and thus colonial/imperialist) forms of production has to be reproduced in non-capitalist social formations. Capital accumulation requires the development of capitalist relations of production in order for the production process to be transformed.

How this transformation takes place and what is the character of social formations arising from the process has been a matter of debate of some time now. According to Balibar (1983), the concept of 'reproduction' provides for the important mechanism through which the various elements of production are brought together. He adopts an 'open' concept where the definition of every mode of production is a combination of mutually related elements. Other writers (Poulantzas, Laclau) related the concept of the articulation of modes of production to the political formation, i.e. that a social formation is dominated by the dominant mode of production. Laclau (1977), however, distinguishes between two different varieties; the first one is where an economic system is based upon a singular mode of production, and the second where it comprises of two or more modes of production. Another type of

approach (Hindess and Hirst, 1977) formulated the concept of social formation as opposed to an analysis of the mode of production. The former consists of the latter as well as the various economic, political and ideological appearances.

Therefore, imperialist formations necessitate the creation of capitalist relation of production. In cases where the mode of production is not capitalist, imperialism attempts to separate direct producers from their means of production (at the colonial stage). In political terms this is translated to relations of dependence and the division of the world into specific areas of interest. The phenomenon of 'empires' at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries is also part of the domination and re-structuring of the global economy. In this way, 'the era from 1875 to 1914 may be called the Age of Empire not only because it developed a new kind of imperialism, but also for a much more old-fashioned reasons. It was probably the period of modern world history in which the number of rulers officially calling themselves, or regarded by western diplomats as deserving the title of 'emperors' was at its maximum'.[19]

The trajectories of imperialist domination are related to the mechanisms of taxation, expropriation of land and construction of infrastructure. As classical capitalism turns into monopoly capital, key sectors of the economy are controlled by that capital. According to Hilferding, Hobson and Lenin, the increasing concentration and centralization of finance capital lay the foundations for the emergence of imperialism in its more

contemporary form. According to Lenin this is a different stage of capitalist development, and this is one of the major contributions in the understanding of capitalist development because it introduces the idea of 'stages' of development within a particular historical period. Lenin (1977) distinguishes between the five basic features of imperialism : concentration of capital; emergence of finance capital; export of capital; emergence of international monopolies; global division.

However, the logic of global accumulation incorporates a variety of elements which have to be distinguished and placed within particular historical contexts. In this way, although the general concept of monopoly-capital as developed by Lenin is applicable today, it does not alone distinguish the differences between the beginning of the twentieth century and the post-World War II period. The basic contradictions which develop in the latter part of the twentieth century arise out of the articulation of different mechanisms which act in a multiplicity of ways, and thus the variation of, for example, state policies of different countries is likely to be greater than the variation of 'pure' economic forms.

The diffusion of monopoly capital into the elements of competitive and monopoly relations (Baran and Sweezy, 1968) puts into doubt the relevance of the above categories of imperialism for contemporary capitalist accumulation. However, the particular features that shape modern accumulations have to be analysed in detail. For example, the modes of operation of monopoly-capital,

and the ways in which accumulation takes place in the latter part of the twentieth century, are different from the earlier part. The expansion of debt facilities for the Third World is one specific example of the distinctions that structure the formation of modern capital accumulation. Also, the role of the state has grown in importance, and in shaping more precisely its forms of intervention in the national and international division of labour. In this sense, it is not valid to show exclusive features of global accumulation, but rather to synthesize the dominant issues which favour the logic of global accumulation.

In relation to Third World development imperialist penetration has, in general, generated underdevelopment. Emmanuel argues that the basic cause of underdevelopment lies in the unequal exchange that takes place between the core and the periphery. Exploitation takes place indirectly, that is not through the use of direct means imposed from imperialism. Therefore, it takes place at the level of the unequal rates of surplus value reproduced in the various countries which take part in the international division of labour. In the more affluent nations, wages increase in real terms while underdeveloped societies offer the possibility of a higher rate of surplus value because of low wages. The periphery develops into a low wage area and the commodities produced in the periphery have a low price. The reproduction of this process establishes and promotes the centralization of wealth in the centre and the subsequent poverty of the periphery. However unequal exchange cannot be the cause of all underdevelopment since participation in the international division of labour is not a linear process, but

takes different forms. At the same time, reorganisation of production (and thus of productivity) may not occur in underdeveloped countries, at least to an extent similar to developed nations, with the consequence of low productivity and subsequent low wages, in any case. Finally, unequal exchange may apply to relationships within a capitalist country or a single capitalist system, where one industry may be less productive than another.

Consequently, dependency and underdevelopment within the framework of global accumulation is a result of many different factors: the economic structures of the dependent regions are important, as are the transformations induced by capitalist expansion to the already existing division of labour (developing one sector and not another). The relations of dependence are not homogeneous. Direct economic dependence, where the key sectors of the economy are controlled by foreign monopoly capital, is one form. Unequal trade relations, where the metropoly can influence the conditions of exchange to suit its own interests, is another. Through the increasing importance of the banking system and the international monetary organisations, financial dependence (in the form of loans) strengthens the cycle of overall economic and political dependency. At the same time, global accumulation and dependence take place within particular socio-historical conditions. The formation of the state and state policy, the nature of capital-labour contradictions and the level of production and social relations, shape the overall environment under which relations of dependence (and interdependence) and accumulation occur.

In this way, the concepts of globalisation and dependence must be related to the nature of the world economy at different historical periods of reference. The history of underdevelopment rests too heavily as a strict conceptualization of history which starts from the basic themes of metropoly/periphery, developed/underdeveloped, advanced/backward and so forth. However, such conceptualization does not allow for relative changes and distinctions that may occur and reproduces the idea that development must always take place in a uniform way, where the 'centre' is relatively unproblematic, while the 'periphery' is the basic focal point of capital accumulation and of rising contradictions.

There is also the problematic of whether under the present economic climate a country can develop 'independent' of any external forces. The word 'independent' needs clarification in this context, because although 'independence' may exist on the level of political decision-making in relation to certain issues, it may not exist insofar as the economy is concerned, or parts of it. In other words, a country may have to take the difficult decision to abandon an amount of its sovereignty, in order to be better placed in the international division of labour (the EEC is an example where economic decision-making is not solely left to individual nations). This type of problem occurs amongst 'core' nations, albeit it takes somewhat different forms. Therefore, the traditional concepts of 'core'-'periphery' are breaking down as adequate explanations of global accumulation.

Inter- and intra-regional disparities within a country and also between countries of the 'core', and inter-organizational differences (in relation to application of technology changes in

firm structure, inter-firm relations) are factors which must also be considered. At the same time, it is important to account for the necessity of combining these elements and relating them to the conditions under which capital-labour relations are formed in different countries. In many cases, capital-labour relations in semi-or newly-industrialized countries, take the form of various means of coercion in order to establish autocratic regimes and protect the interests of monopoly capital. The disadvantages brought to labour are augmented by the suspension of trade unions and the violation of liberties:

> 'Since 1980 more than a hundred trade unionists have been assassinated by, or with the complicity of, government authorities in at least twelve countries. Mention can be made of numerous cases of disappearances, torture, arrests of trade unionists on a massive scale, prolonged detention without trial or even without charges being brought...' 20

Meanwhile, there is also the question of migrant labour and the implications of that process for social and political relations (see chapter 2). Labour may migrate within a country in search of jobs because of uneven regional development, but the same mechanism operates at the global level: 'for a long period before World War II the advanced capitalist countries made sporadic use of labour from their colonies and from the backward European countries (Italy, Spain, Poland, etc). In 1936 there were proportionately more foreigners in France than in 1972 (2,198,000 compared with a little under 4,000,000), and even at the time of the 1924 crisis 7 per cent of the French population were foreigners... In 1972 there

were 2,345,200 foreign workers in Germany, representing 10.8 per cent of all wage earners..Immigrant labour is thus a fundamental element in the economic structure of European capitalism and not simply an extra source of labour in conditions of rapid growth.'[21] The situation is further exacerbated because of the conditions in which immigrants live and work - in this way, the general conditions of 'underdevelopment' are reproduced in the 'core' countries (Table 1).[22] At the same time, labour is also subjected to unemployment on a global scale. Unemployment in developing nations has been coupled with, and in many cases potentially aggravated by, the rise of unemployment in the industrialised countries which has been both prolonged and high.

The persistent stagnation of the world economy during the 1970's and early 1980's (and the problems it generated for the industrialised nations), created the basis for a wider re-structuring of the global economy. The inter-and intra-regional problems and disparities mentioned above were running parallel with successful multinational operations in various parts of the world. Simultaneously, traditional industries (shipyards etc) were coming to a standstill, national investment was falling and manufacturing output slumped.

The process of restructuring that took place as a result of these problems involved a number of factors which directly related to international development. The debate on the new international division of labour (NIDL) is just an expression of the processes that, in general, articulate the widening global integration.

Out-migration Country	In-migration Country									
	Austria	Belgium	France(a)	W. Germany	Luxembourg	Holland	Sweden	Switzerland	UK(b)	Total
Algeria	-	3.2	322.7	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	327.5
Finland	-	-	-	3.7	-	-	108.0	-	1.0	112.7
France	-	38.5	-	54.0	8.5	2.0	-	-	14.0	117.2
Greece	-	10.8	3.0	138.4	-	1.2	7.5	-	6.0	166.9
Italy	-	90.5	146.4	324.3	11.2	12.0	-	301.0	73.0	958.4
Morocco	-	37.3	116.1	16.6	-	33.7	-	-	-	203.7
Potugal	-	6.3	430.6	59.9	13.7	4.2	-	-	5.0	519.7
Spain	-	32.0	157.7	89.3	2.3	10.4	-	85.7	17.0	394.4
Tunisia	-	4.7	65.3	-	-	1.1	-	-	-	71.1
Turkey	28.2	23.0	20.6	623.9	-	53.2	-	20.1	4.0	773.0
Yugoslavia	115.3	3.1	32.2	367.0	0.6	6.6	24.0	62.5	5.0	616.2
Other	31.3	83.2	192.4	490.1	15.6	70.2	94.6	237.0	804.0	2,018.4
Total	174.7	332.6	1,487.0	2,168.8	51.9	194.6	234.1	706.3	929.0	6,279.0

Table 1 : Number of Migrant Workers (in 1980) in selected Western European Countries (in thousands)

(a) October 1980, estimated by INSEE on the basis of its 1980 employment survey, which underestimates by several hundred thousand categories such as small-scale employees, home-based workers and workers living at construction sites.

(b) May-June 1979, estimated by the Department of Employment on the basis of its 1979 labour force survey.

Source: ILO, World Labour Report 1, 1984, cited in Godfrey, M. 1986, Global unemployment, Harvester, p.25.

At the beginning of the 1970's, the question centred around on whether an appreciation of NIDL can be based on more traditional approaches of comparative advantage, or on concepts of economic development relying on internal potential. The prevalent economic conditions required an alternative examination of the less-developed countries' share of the world economy. Neo-classical theories of foreign trade complemented the model of international exchange, with a broader assumption towards an 'ideal-type' of comparative advantage. Countries could find it more profitable to export goods for which they had the essential production factors and import goods on which home production would not be profitable. Theories of growth (Myrdal, 1957) concentrated on devising a relationship between producer, consumer and investor in interrelated sectors. The objective is maximisation of production and, at the same time, a definition of the role of each sector within the production process.

An articulation of both comparative-advantage and growth theories was suggested by Tinbergen (1976), within the context of how to combine the particular interests of national development with the advantages of the NIDL. In doing so, it becomes necessary to compare a variety of growth structures and not simply individual sectors. Therefore, long-term development programmes for individual industries are rejected because it is not enough to use one component of the production process, when other factors (such as participation in international exchange) can also be influential in working out a development policy. The argument is based on the existence of shadow-prices which reflect production costs, under an

optimal combination of internal and external expenditure. Within that framework, a construction of an ideal model is suggested for the production of an existing (or planned) volume of goods with minimal capital outlay.

In general, the basis of any economic strategy is leading to the creation of a maximum possible effect not only for a particular industry or group of industries, but for the economy as a whole. Whereas some models emphasize importing goods which cannot be competitively produced at home, others indicate the financial viability of producing many of these goods at home. At the same time, theories are inclined to ignore comparisons of national and international production costs, and to regard foreign exchange as a means of converting import requirements. However, what is not generally discussed is the actual position of the less-developed economy in the global context of capital accumulation (that also has implications for disparities between sectors of industrialised nations). The particular characteristics of each economy are central in depicting paths of development. Concurrently, the problem is further complicated by the global economic crisis, the subsequent restructuring (which includes the use of technology), the transfer of industry or parts of industry to the developing countries, and the operation of the market on a global basis. The problems that these processes generate for labour (and labour-power) are even more complicated and difficult to predict.

An aspect of global restructuring, in relation to the transfer of industry to the 'periphery' has been analysed by Froebel (et al).

Explicit changes that have taken place in the international economy and the economic crises have in a sense forced capital to relocate industry from the more capitalist nations to the less-developed countries. Therefore, part of the production process is taking place in the less-developed countries. However, according to Froebel (1980), the NIDL is 'an "institutional" innovation of capital itself, necessitated by changed conditions, and not the result of changed development strategies by individual countries or options freely decided upon by so-called multinational companies. It is a consequence and not a cause of these new conditions that various countries and companies have to tailor their policies and profit-maximising strategies to these new condition'.[23] Nevertheless, that kind of approach looks at part of the problem and underestimates the role of a multiplicity of other factors mentioned earlier. At the same time the role of investment and relocation in Third World countries is overplayed, since 'the export of capital is still predominantly between advanced countries rather than towards cheap labour countries of the Third World'.[24]

In general, the discussion of the processes of globalisation and dependency leads to two major areas: firstly, the fact that the process of globalisation in terms of internationalization of capital and labour is of a multi-dimensional nature. 'Dependency' and the consequent effects that it creates is just part (although substantial) of a wider integration of the world's social and economic processes. We have seen that the question of dependency cannot be adequately explained, unless the various elements which come into interplay are related to one another not only in general

theoretical terms but also in concrete ones. At the same time the links with development (and underdevelopment) in the industrialized countries have to be evaluated and analysed.

Secondly, these processes are strongly linked to industrial relations in different countries. The phenomena of the NIDL, changes in the production process and the political choices of various states in relation to capital-labour relations, are all factors associated with the formation and development of industrial relations structures and procedures.

1.6 Recent changes in the international division of labour, flexible specialization and post-Fordism

As we have seen, the basic concept of the core-periphery formulation does not really explain the complexities of the internationalization process. The development of internationalised production and the changes in the division of labour involve a variety of factors and create new combinations of capital and labour in different regions and locations. Also, changes in technology and especially the advent of the computer have created possibilities for automated techniques (for example in assembly-line production) which certainly exert influence on the processes described earlier.

All these features of 'change' have become more or less permanent aspects of contemporary social development and in a sense form the underlying basis of the 'restructuring' of the economic

order. The idea of 'restructuring' is not new. Already, from the 1960's, the recording of changes lead many to introduce and analyze the concept of the post-industrial society in relation not only to economic change but also to social, political and cultural implications. Bell (1974) related the concept of 'post-industrialist' processes to 'group scientific' decisions dominating social formations. Touraine argued in 1968 that 'a new type of society is now being formed. These new societies can be labelled post-industrial to stress how different they are from the industrial societies that preceded them, although - in both capitalist and socialist nations - they retain some characteristics of these earlier societies. They may also be called technocratic because of the power that dominates them. Or one can call them programmed societies to define them according to the nature of their production methods and economic organization. This last term seems to me the most useful because it most accurately indicates the nature of these societies' inner workings and economic activity'.[25]

'Restructuring' has also been related to the movement from 'fordist' to 'post-fordist' regimes of accumulation. Aglietta (1979) defines this shift in terms of the limits of Fordist accumulation due to the increasing mobility of capital to raise productivity in order to balance rising costs and relieve the pressure on falling profits. In general, he argued that the crises can be overcome through the development of neo-Fordist production methods, i.e. though the use of computer programming manufacturing techniques. However, the characteristics of 'post-Fordism' are not limited only to the reconstitution of production methods. The term implies a more radical break from Fordism and in a sense incorporates the determinant parameters of 'neo-Fordism'.

Piore and Sabel, (1984) argued in more concrete terms on the characteristics of the 'post-Fordist' mode of organization. In general, the post 1960's period is when the world enters a prolonged phase of crisis. Expressions of this crisis were the social upheavals of the time, raw-material shortages, inflation, unemployment and economic stagnation. The already existing institutional structures of the period were unable to accommodate the spread of mass-production. Subsequently, the system of 'mass-production' started to break up and industrial markets became saturated. In general, 'the period from 1965 to 1973 was one in which the stability of Fordism and Keynesianism to contain the inherent contradictions of capitalism became more and more apparent. On the surface, these difficulties could best be captured by one word : rigidity. There were problems with the rigidity of long-term and large-scale fixed capital investments in mass-production systems that precluded much flexibility of design and presumed stable growth in invariant consumer markets. There were problems of rigidities in labour markets, labour allocation, and in labour contracts (especially in the 'monopoloy' sector). And any attempt to overcome these rigidities ran into the seemingly immovable force of deeply entrenched working-class power - hence the strike wages and labour disruptions of the period 1968-72'.[26]

Therefore, mass-production, during the late 1970's and through the 1980's, has been regressing and 'flexible specialization' became the dominant economic force. (Table 2). Flexibility, characterises post -Fordism in relation to the labour process, the labour market and the ways products are manufactured and sold. However, although isolated elements of this type of analysis may be

Fordism	Post-Fordism
Low technological innovation fixed product lines, long runs	accelerated innovation high variety of product, shorter runs
mass marketing	market diversification and niche-ing
steep hierarchy, vertical shares of command mechanistic organization	flat hierarchy, more lateral communication organismic organization
vertical and horizontal integration central planning	autonomous profit centres; network systems, internal markets within firm, out-sourcing
bureaucracy mass unions, centralized wage bargaining	professionalism, entre-preneurialism. localized bargaining, core and periphery, workforce divided; no corporatism
unified class formations; dualistic political systems	pluralist class formations; multi-party systems
institutionalized class compromises	fragmented political markets
standardized forms of welfare prescribed 'courses' in education	consumer choice in welfare, credit transfer, modularity, self guided instruction, 'independent' study
class parties, nationwide	social movements - multi-parties; regional diversification

Table 2: Ideal types of Fordist and post-fordist modes of production

Source: Rustin, M. 1989. The Politics of Post-Fordism or, The Trouble with 'New Times', NLR 175, pp. 56-57.

correct, the basic problem lies in the underlying assumption of one type of production dominating the global economy. In other words, it is not always possible to identify firms or industries as belonging to the Fordist or post-Fordist type of production.

Mass production, for example, is extensive in the manufacturing of cars, electrical goods and in the field of electronics. On the other hand, 'for simpler consumer goods, like clothing and furniture, mass production techniques had a limited advantage. Meanwhile the capital intensive process industries, like steel and chemicals, went their own way before and after Ford. It is therefore quite understandable that most plants in the advanced economies do not contain assembly lines; the survey of British manufacturing ... shows that 31 per cent of plants in the sample used assembly lines and only half of those were mechanically paced. Ford's innovations may have been important but they are hardly responsible for the whole trajectory of development in the advanced economies ... Ford's successors did not generally imitate his product strategy of relying on one long lived model. Most assemblers succeed by making families of inter-related models which are changed over fairly regularly.[27]

In this sense, 'the orthodox mass producer survives by producing a family of inter-related models. And in the case of the major durables it is unusual for consumers to demand more than a handful of produced types. In the case of cars in the European market demand has converged into four distinct product types. The demand is for small, light, medium and large cars which Ford of Europe meets with the Fiesta, Escort, Sierra and Granada. In every major European national market, except West Germany, 80 per cent

plus of sales are taken in the three lower classes where the major manufacturers have similarly packaged look alike models.'[28]

In general, the main theme of flexible specialization, namely that it gives an advantage to small and medium sized firms has been challenged from all sides. The notion of 'flexibility' itself as something new in the general process of capital accumulation has been criticised for its very essence. Pollert argues that 'flexibility is far from new ... It is, and always has been, essential to capital accumulation.'[29] Gordon doubts the whole idea of transformation and globalization. Considering the evolution of production shares over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, he raises interesting questions regarding 'the origins and dynamics of the dramatic increase in the LDC (less-developed countries) share of industrial production during the 1930's and 1940's. How is it possible that they gained so rapidly in global production shares through the end of World War II (and subsequently lost ground so quickly)?... The recent shifts of industrial production, toward the LDC's and NIC's (new industrializing countries) are not particularly large by relevant historical standards.'[30]

However, the evidence does not point decisively one way or the other. As Harvey, (1989) says 'the insistence that there is nothing essentially new in the push towards flexibility and that capitalism has periodically taken these sorts of paths before, is certainly correct (a careful reading of Marx's Capital sustains the point). The argument that there is an acute danger of exaggerating the significance of any trend towards increased flexibility and geographical mobility blinding us to how strongly implanted Fordist

production systems still are, deserves careful consideration. And the ideological and political consequences of over-emphasizing flexibility in the narrow sense of production technique and labour relations are serious enough to make sober and careful evaluation of the degree of flexibility imperative...But I think it equally dangerous to pretend that nothing has changed, when the facts of deindustrialization and of plant relocation, of more flexible manning practices and labour markets, of automation and product innovation, stare most workers in the face.'[31]

There is, in fact, substantial evidence to suggest that there have been shifts towards the small firm during the 1980's. In 1985 the OECD concluded 'that in several of its member states a tendency towards concentration of workers in small firms can be found, even after account is taken of shifts in industrial structure or sectoral composition'.[32] At the same time, 'while the product market strategy and technological explanations are quite in the spirit of the Piore and Sabel (1984) story, the role of small firm cooperations and the institutions of flexible specialization is much harder to decipher. At least superficially, there seem to be no simple relationship between the degree of development of such institutions and changes in the size distribution of production ... A variety of other explanations for small firm employment share gains ... have very little to do with the flexible specialization theme. One rather obvious possibility is that small firm relative growth is the result of lower unit costs (and inferior working conditions).'[35]

Also, the evidence in relation to the international division of labour is pointing towards various disparities depending on the case. For example, a company 'may not do advertising, marketing, trade, product design and product maintenance by itself, but may have these activities performed by more or less independent enterprises'.[34] Subcontracting has also increased which on the one hand may enhance the possibilities for the creation of new medium and small-size firms and on the other, create networks of dependency for many of these firms. 'If a firm delivers exclusively for one customer it means that its business prospects are entirely dependent on the performance of that firm, i.e. on its level of velocity, or its decision of 'make' or 'buy', and on its opportunities and scope for buying from other sellers. That is, next to the degree of dependency reflected in market shares, the important issue is whether the dependency is one-sided or mutual'.[35]

Therefore, the whole issue of flexible specialization (and/or the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism) is not identifiable as a single transition which is homogeneous throughout the world. In terms of spatial processes (as opposed to inter-firm relations), the evidence also points out a variety of differentiations. In this sense it is not only important to look at possible transitions from one phase into another, but also to evaluate whether these possibilities are incorporated into a more general network of social practice. The technology of post-Fordism may not be quite applicable everywhere especially in areas (or regions, local and national) where Fordism in itself cannot be easily identified (for example, in the case of Greece).

The examination of cases such as that of the 'Third Italy', crystallizes the agglomeration of all the different elements and the fact that there cannot be one singular parameter to explain all the different elements and how they inter-play in the process of capital accumulation and restructuring.

The region of the 'Third Italy' is a characteristic example of a locality which consists of small and medium sized firms in the clothing and engineering sectors. However, the economy as a whole is not characterized by the post-Fordist type of production : 'firstly, the Emilian economy supports a wide variety of engineering sectors, significant parts of which cannot be labelled 'post-Fordist' either because they were never Fordist, or because they are still characterised by variants of a Fordist labour process. Secondly, the artisan sector contains a wide variety of working conditions. Trade union organisation is weak and many workers are exposed to unmediated market forces ... Finally, the Emilian model provides enormous labour flexibility for capital. For a majority of male Emilian skilled machinists, fitters and technicians this offers the possibility of functional labour flexibility between a wide range of manual and conceptual tasks unlikely, but not impossible, in the larger firm'.[36]

Recent evidence from the region suggests further disparities in looking at the transition to post-Fordism. In the area of Valdesa (which is in Tuscany, part of the 'Third Italy'), there has been traditionally 'an industrial fabric based on the small firm. This is essentially of post-war origin spread over the landscape

and consisting of complementary activities - firms involved in construction products, construction machinery, engineering and metal products ... the specialisation upon wood products, with firms at different stages along the value-added chain, or firms supplying machinery; the existence of a technical and marketing centre for furniture all suggest the existence of an industrial district.'[37] The crisis which developed in the district during the 1980's gave rise to a local response, though providing for more support in financial and marketing terms in order for the local economy to survive. In this sense the continuation of a successful climate for the 'flexible' firm rested upon support from more traditional methods of 'state' (albeit local) intervention and backing.

In fact, in the case of Southern Europe 'flexibility' and 'restructuring' co-exist with more rigid forms of economic and social organization. In Spain, where restructuring has been taking place at an increasing rate, the state 'sought to establish the coherence of a policy of liberalisation and increased flexibility in the economy coupled with selective public sector intervention ... The Socialist government now faces a dilemma as the imperatives of competition in an integrated global economy demand an increased emphasis on efficiency and restrict intervention, driving a wedge into socialist principles. Yet the government of a relatively small economy like that of Spain (or even of a larger economy such as France!) has little room to manoeuvre in determining industrial development now that it has become a member of the European Community and opted to integrate itself fully into the global economy.'[38]

One of the most important aspects of flexible specialization is the impact of new technology on manufacturing as well as the service industries. In general, developments in 'high-tech' are transforming production processes and product and marketing strategies throughout the economy. Many of these innovations (such as computer-aided design and computer-aided manufacture - CAD/CAM) are still new and are slowly being incorporated into the major branches of industry. Their impact on skilled labour has not yet been fully assessed. Automated assembly plants ('neo-Fordist' types of production) may also play a similar role. However, 'Fiat's highly automated Robotgate assembly plant ... relies primarily on highly trained technicians, and West German automobile manufacturers have come to increasingly rely on skilled workers.'[39] At the same time complete global integration of advanced technology is a problem. Investments in new types of technology and the use of what is generally called Flexible Manufacturing Systems (FMS) have been successful in parts of the small and medium sized firms. But, many of these processes may not be globally applicable because they required almost total replacement of equipment. Nevertheless, part of the process of 'restructuring' and 'flexibility' has been due to new technology although 'the fact remains that considerable mistakes are made in investment policy if, as reported by one equipment supplier, it is true that about 30 per cent of CAD/CAM installations fail'.[40]

The introduction of widespread use of new technology raises a number of other issues in relation to capital accumulation, apart from the question of flexibility. The central point is whether

capitalism can afford to develop along the lines of 'eliminating' living labour. In other words, 'capitalism is incompatible with fully automated production in the whole of industry and agriculture because this no longer allows the creation of surplus-value or valorisation of capital'.[41] However, the acceptance that the development of technology in itself can produce the 'final moment' in the development of a whole social formation, 'pushing out' social relations and exceeding the total capabilities of people to control the volume of knowledge, is highly problematic. The force of new technology is not linear and knowledge is not produced evenly. The emergence of new elements in the production process always coincided with a whole grid of uneven, adverse and contradictory effects whose resolutions may lead to higher forms of development or to worsening conditions of human existence. An important element of the general debate concerning the advancement of technology concerns of course the destruction of the environment. In many respects, the misuse of nature over a prolonged period of time can lead to the 'collapse' of the economy, simply because nature (and natural resources) are 'finite' in the context of modern industrial development (in this way, restructuring has to accommodate resolution to the problems of global environmental protection).

Consequently, what is left of the transition theme from rigid to flexible regimes of accumulation and post-Fordism? Undoubtedly, there are quite substantial changes and shifts from one type of production to another. But, these are not homogeneous and do not necessarily express the totality of events. According to Harvey,

'flexible technologies and organizational forms have not become hegemonic everywhere (but then neither did the Fordism that preceded them). The current conjuncture is characterized by a mix of highly efficient Fordist production (often increased by flexible technology and output) in some sectors and regions (like cars in the USA, Japan or South Korea) and more traditional production systems (such as those in Singapore, Taiwan, or Hong Kong) resting on 'artisanal', paternalistic or patriarchal (familial) labour relations, embodying quite different mechanisms of labour control'.[42] These processes are coupled with parallel dichotomies between various forms of political and economic action from both labour and capital, the state, trade union organization and so forth. The typology of post-Fordism (in its ideal-type at least) is as difficult to prove as is the position that really nothing has changed.

This melting-pot of many events all happening simultaneously is evident in the question of how to account and evaluate for the changes that are occurring. Can there be a comprehensive model or explanation, since the 'restructuring' process is associated with almost all the elements that can be found in society? The idea of 'post-modernism' closely relevant to new types of capital accumulation considers of the variants of flexibility with respect to not only production, but also consumption, leisure, art and in general culture.

At the same time, the 'work-ethic' has been challenged for no longer representing the major variable which helps to shape societal structures: '... the abolition of work is a process already underway and likely to accelerate. In each of the three leading industrialized nations of Western Europe, independent

economic forecasts have estimated that automation will eliminate 4-5 million jobs in ten years, unless there is a sharp reduction in the number of working hours as well as in the form and purpose of production activity. Keynes is dead. In the context of the current crisis and technological revolution it is absolutely impossible to restore full employment by quantitative economic growth. The alternative rather lies in a different way of managing the abolition of work : instead of a society based on mass unemployment, a society can be built in which time has been freed ... the manner in which the abolition of work is to be managed and socially implemented constitutes the central political issue of the coming decades.'[43] Therefore, 'restructuring' may incorporate the relative diminution of 'work' as the central focal point of contradiction.[44]

One of the most interesting attempts to evaluate and link all the elements apparent in the process of restructuring has been the debate about 'New Times' (Table 3). It is a concept which begins from assessing the transition to post-Fordism as a fundamental characteristic of contemporary society. At the same time, the idea of 'New Times' is composed of many different elements which are related to changes in culture and in ways of societal organization globally. In fact 'globalisation' is identified not only in economic terms but also in social, political and cultural: 'globalisation is the awesome force shaping our times. These global times are about the compression of time and space horizons and the creation of a world of instantaneity and depthlessness. Global space is a space of flaws, an electronic space, a decentred space, a space in which frontiers and boundaries have become

Modern Times	New Times
Fordism	Post-Fordism
Modern	Post-modern
Steinbeck	Pynchon
Le Corbusier	Venturi
Sortie	Foucault
Futurism	Nostalgia
Marlon Brando	William Hurt
Production	Consumption
Mass-market	Market segmentation
Ford	Toyota
Self-control	Remote control
Depth	Surface
Belief	Credit
Elvis	Michael Jackson
Interpretation	Deconstruction
Butlins	Theme parks
Beatles	Bros
Determination	The Arbitrary
Liberalism	Libertarianism
Mass Hysteria	Fatal Attraction
World wars	Terrorism
Angst	Boredom
Roosevelt	Reagan
Conservatism	Thatcherism
Dow Jones	Nikkei Index
Stalinism	Glasnost
Free love	The free market
The Titanic	Challenger
The Cabinet	The Prime Minister
Bingo	The Big Bang

Table 3 : Fundamental List for 'New Times'

Source: Marxism Today, October 1988, p.5.

permeable. Within this global arena economies and cultures are thrown into intense and immediate contact with each other - with each 'Other' (an 'Other' that is no longer simply 'out there' but also within).'[45]

Consequently 'New Times' is about the 'world being remade' because 'mass production, the mass consumer, the big city, big brother state, the sprawling housing estate and the nation-state are in decline : flexibility, diversity, differentiation, mobility, communication, decentralisation and internationalisation are in the ascendant. In the process of our own identities, our sense of self, our own subjectivities are being transformed. We are in transition to a new era.'[46]

In this way, 'New Times' rests heavily upon the theme that changes in the production processes, in organizational and technical terms are followed by changes, identified in terms of a more open system (decentralization, greater political choice, cultural variety etc) in society. But, the emergence of the decentred corporation (whilst still a multinational) does not necessarily correspond to the variety of changes described by the concept of 'New Times'. In some cases it might, in others nothing could be further from the truth : what are the possibilities, for example, of reducing and eventually eliminating starvation in Third World countries (in fact it increased over the 1980's) which emanate from 'New Times'?

Therefore, in Rustin's words,'this model appears to have considerable cogency and explanatory power, and its theoretical ambitions are admirable.

There are, however, serious problems in determining its scope and application. It is far from clear how much of the emerging economic system fits this new pattern of technology and organization, and how much still operates either in old 'mass production' modes, or by still more technologically-backward methods dependent on unskilled labour, such as those found in most of the (expanding) hotel and catering trades. Even the state-of the-information-arts example of television raises this question in acute forms. Just when 'Channel 4' model has been established to the general acclaim of the post-Fordist intellectual public, the system as a whole is threatened with regression under pressure of market forces to the worst forms of mass formula-programming on a global scale. What seems to be emerging is not one 'progressive' mode of information-based production, but a plethora of co-existing and competing systems, whose ultimate relative weight in the system is impossible to predict. Since socio-technical systems do not develop completely autonomously, but only in response to cultural definition, conflicts of social forces, and political decision, it is dubious in principle and possibly misleading in fact to make linear extrapolations from what might seem to be 'leading instances' or current trends, to the shape of a whole system.'[47]

Subsequently, 'events' do not necessarily lead into premeditated conclusions. In historical terms 'New Times' and 'restructuring' have occurred before in the transition from one system of production to another and from one political regime to another (feudalism to capitalism, monarchy to democracy, democracy

to dictatorship, colonial to imperialist, national to international). It stands to reason that one 'instance' may not help to explain the new contradictions and developments that characterize society (for example, in Greece 'pre-Fordist' types of organization, co-exist with multiple radio and television stations and in this way centralized decision-making (see Chapter 4) is simultaneous with decentralized (and deregulated) systems of information).

Nevertheless, changes are happening on a global scale. What these mean, how they interact and where they are leading, are the issues of an on-going debate.

1.7 Conclusion

The need to understand and evaluate shifts, changes and transitions in economic and social structures has never been greater than in the last 10 to 15 years.

A variety of different social, political and economic developments have influenced the articulation of organizational structures. In this sense what is happening inside the factory is only a part of those wider processes. The development of industrial relations in all its forms and variations is only an expression of the conflicts, contradictions and changes that occur outside the system of industrial organization. It is not possible to look at this system, without a coherent framework to explain the 'how's' and 'why's' of its existence.

At the same time, the transformations that occur in society give each time a different impetus to the question of industrial organization. In the immediate post-war years 'nationalization' and 'institutionalized' national economic and trade-union activity, created a particular way industrial relations issues were settled (at least in parts of Northern Europe). But, even that 'event' had its own history and was (and still is) inextricably linked to the position of a nation in Europe, its economic and social level of development before the war, what happened to its economy and infrastructure during the war and so on. Outside the European context, 'less-developed' economies have had their own particular problems which again set the agenda (as in the case of Greece, see Chapter 3).

Also, the process of industrialization in itself is important. The circumstances of its establishment and the type of people it 'produced' (in relation to what 'was' before) are important and characteristic aspects which shaped particular forms of industrial organization.

Therefore, that process is one of social struggle and of history; in short of the particularities of social relations through each epoch. The 'external' factors that shape industrial relations mechanisms are the essential ones; the 'internal' factors (i.e. how industry is organized in specific spatial trajectories) are the result (and not the only one) albeit an important end-product which also has to be examined. However, the problem is that there is no coherent explanatory framework for looking at

industrial relations from such a perspective. This is the major criticism raised against Industrial Relations 'theory'. It does not provide for that framework because it simply cannot do so. The reason for that is that explanations of industrial relations techniques are not enough for the development of key theoretical concepts because they are products of other major parameters.

Concurrently, the world entered yet another phase during the post-war years. Colonialism regressed, imperialism became aggressive and new forms of economic relations started to develop. Technical innovations played an important role as well. The systems that became established combined elements of 'new' and 'old' types of production and organization. The state developed in terms of complexity in its functions and also as a major provider of services. In parts economic expansion seemed stable and yet it was followed by sharp economic recession at the end of the 1960's and during the 1970's. The development of the regime of capital accumulation began to take a variety of different forms. Simultaneously, there were political changes and social developments. The role of nations toward one another has been slowly changing; from the 'cold war' politics of confrontation, into another stage of peaceful co-existence. Also, the formation of the EEC increased the role of 'internationalization' in terms of economics and politics. Industrial re-organization has also occurred. All these processes have had a distinctive impact on the present and the future of industrial relations. For example, the expansion of 'flexible' forms of production re-shape the ways industrial relations are conducted in those industries where it has taken place (and should also change the way Industrial Relations views them).

This is not to say that things have progressively grown better. International and national disparities have, in many cases, increased. Although economic expansion was substantial, it was not for all. Parts of the 'Third World' did not gain from that process and their situation worsened both in economic and social terms (high debts, social deprivation and poverty, slums, starvation, civil war, dictatorships). In Europe, the changing structure of the economy through the formation of the EEC has not drastically altered the centre of power for many regions. At a national level, there are disparities not only between regions but also within regions. The same can be found amongst industries.

Therefore, developments are not homogeneous and linear. The mutual co-existence of many interrelated elements certainly creates difficulties of explanation as does the fact that conditions have rapidly become more and more complex. The conceptualization of social and economic transition has to draw attention to the importance of distinguishing historical periods of development and trends related to the production and organizational process. All these have to be combined in a non-deterministic way, such that the basic forces and interrelationship are exposed. In an increasingly globalized environment, processes are much more difficult to analyze and predict. At the same time the historical process is not a closed one. Things co-exist, recede, evolve and change. Industrial relations is part of that process and as such it takes different forms under different socio-economic environments. Its development contains contradictions on a national and international level which are far more evident than contemporary Industrial Relations analyses allow.

Notes and References

1. Marx, K. 1983. Capital, Vol. 1, Lawrence and Wishart, p.173.

2. Marx, K. 1981. Grundrisse, Pelican, p.85.

3. For Marx, the labour process and the objects of labour, 'therefore man's activity ... effects on alteration designed from the commencement, in the material worked upon. The process disappears in the product, the latter is a use-value. Nature's material adapted by a change of form to the wants of man. Labour has incorporated itself with its subject : the former is materialised, the latter transformed.' (Capital, Vol. I p.176).

4. Ibid, p.177.

5. Grundrisse, pp. 90-91.

6. Marx, K. and Engels, F. 1977. Selected Works, Lawrence and Wishart, p.181.

7. Stathaki - Papaioannou,, F. 1988. Theoretical Marxist Approaches in Palaeodemography, Ph.D. Thesis, Durham.

8. Wood Meiksins E. 1984. 'Marxism and the Course of History'. New Left Review 147, p. 102.

9. We do not intend here to analyze in detail all the characteristics of the division of labour. In general terms, there are two different types of division of labour : the social division, and the division amongst workers each completing a different task in the production process. The first type is found in all societal formations while the second is a specific creation of capitalist development, where products become commodities under the influence and control of capital. In this particular societal formation there exists the division of labour between capital and labour within the totality of the production process.

10. Grundrisse, p.93.

11. For further discussion see also Lukacs. For him the basis of reification 'is that a relation between people takes on the character of a thing and thus acquires a 'phantom objectivity' an autonomy that seems so strictly rational and all-embracing as to conceal every trace of its fundamental nature : the relation between people. (1983, p.83)

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13. Nichols, T. 1980. Capital and Labour. Fontana, p.25.

14. Magdoff, H. (date unknown). Imperialism from the Colonial Age to the Present. Modern Reader, p.20.

15. Ibid, p.21.

16. Larrain, J. 1989. Theories of Development. Polity Press, p.24.

17. Marx, K., letter to P.V. Annenkov, 28 December 1846 - Marx, K. and Engels, F. 1968. Selected Works, Lawrence and Wishart, pp. 659-669.

18. Taylor, J.G. 1979. From Modernization to Modes of Production, Macmillan Press, p.207.

19. Hobsbawn, J.E. 1987. The Age of Empire 1875-1914. Cardinal, p.56.

20. Southall, R. 1988. Trade Unions and the New Industrialization of the Third World. Zed Books, p.24.

21. Castells, M. 1975. Immigrant Workers and Class Struggles in Advanced Capitalism : The Western European Experience, in Cohen, R. (et al) 1979. Peasants and Proletarians. Hutchinson, pp. 354-357.

22. For example in the UK during the 1950's there was immigration from the New Commonwealth, especially the West Indies, India and Pakistan (Hudson, R. and Williams, A. 1986. Western Europe Economic and Social Studies : The United Kingdom. Harper and Row, p.1339. That process produces a variety of social problems such as racial

conflict, discrimination and bad conditions for many immigrants, e.g. segregation of black immigrants because of their role as 'replacement labour' (ibid p.134). In many cases discrimination was translated into a low standard of living - 'poor access to home ownership stems partly from building societies reluctance to lend to those with low incomes and manual jobs and partly from discrimination by estate agents.' (ibid, p.135) At the same time, 'black people have also been excluded from local authority dwellings because, until recently, many housing departments operated residential qualifications that tended to exclude (newly arrived) immigrants' (ibid).

23. Froebel, F. Heinrichs, J and Kreye, O. 1980. The New International Division of Labour. Cambridge University Press, p.46.

24. Jenkins, R. 1984. 'Divisions over the international division of labour'. Capital and Class, 22, p.35.

25. Touraine, A. 1974. The Post-Industrial Society. Wildwood House, p.3.

26. Harvey, D. 1989. The Condition of Postmodernity. Blackwell, pp. 141-142.

27. Williams, K. (et al) 1987. 'The End of Mass Production?' Economy and Society. Vol. 16, Number 3, p.421.

28. Ibid, p.426.

29. Pollert, A. 1988. 'Dismantling Flexibility'. Capital and Class. 34, p.70.

30. Gordon, D. 1988. 'The Global Economy : New Edifice or Crumbling Foundations?' New Left Review. 168.

31. Harvey, D. 1989, p.191.

32. Sengenberger, W. and Loveman, G. 1987. 'Smaller Units of Employment - a Synthesis Report on Industrial Reorganisation in Industrialized Countries'. International Institute for Labour Studies. Geneva, p.2.

33. Ibid, p.26.

34. Ibid, p.43.

35. Ibid, p.44

36. Murray, F. 1987.' Flexible specialisation in the 'Third Italy''. Capital and Class 33, p.91.

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42. Harvey D. 1989, p.191.

43. Gorz, A. 1982. Farewell to the Working Class. Pluto Press, pp.3-4.

44. See for example, Offe, C. 1985, Disorganized Capitalism, Polity Press, for a more coherent analysis of the decline of the work ethic in relation to the inability of contemporary capitalism to resolve problems in production and distribution. This leads to an 'erosion of the cultural foundations, and hence the acceptability, of the labour market as the dominant pattern of allocating labour power as well as of distributing income'.(p.63).

45. Robins, K. 1989. 'Global Times'. Marxism Today, December, p.25.

46. Marxism Today, October 1988, p.3 - see also Hall, S., 'Brave New World' (same issue), where the theoretical underpinning of 'New Times' is set : 'We have to make assessments not from the completed base, but from the 'leading edge' of change. The food industry, which has just arrived at the point where it can guarantee worldwide the standardization of the size, shape and composition of every hamburger and every potato (sic) chip in a Macdonald's Big Mac from Tokyo to Harare, is clearly just entering its Fordist apogee. However, motor cars, from which the age of Fordism derived its name, with its mutltiple variations on every model and market specialization (like the fashion and software industries), is at the leading edge of post-Fordism. The question should always be where is the 'leading edge' and in what direction is it pointing' (p.24).

47. Rustin, M. 1989. 'The Politics of Post-fordism : or The Trouble with 'New Times''. New Left Review. 175, p.58.

CHAPTER 2

THE FRAMEWORK OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS : THEORY AND PRACTICE OF INDUSTRIAL PARTICIPATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The central task in studying the development of workers' participation is to bring out the motive forces which influence this process.

As part of the wider field of Industrial Relations (and of social science) the concept of workers' participation is directly linked to a variety of societal phenomena. In the previous chapter, we identified its relationship with some of the major exogenous phenomena that produce participatory formations and mechanisms. The first point we noted about these phenomena is that they represent the initial causes which affect the general character of industrial relations and workers' participation in each individual case. Therefore, they must be analysed and theorised independently of, and also in connection to, the effects they create.

At the same time we must be able to go beyond a simple cause-effect analysis: in order to build a theoretical model which accommodates all the elements that come into the debate, a transition from one level of analysis to another is essential. The second level is determined by the need to incorporate the actual structures and systems that are found in the area of workers'

participation. These are, more or less, the endogenous phenomena which involve the particular character of labour relations, the institutional aspects of workers' participation and the more general issues of power and control interests. The appearance of these aspects is concurrent with the emergence of industry and manufacture but they also form part of a particular society's political and cultural development. The meaning of the term 'workers' participation' may differ from country to country and it may acquire different significance and importance. It may also be experienced and put into practice through a variety of techniques and methods. In terms of theory therefore the point is not to formulate a particular definition of what is or should be 'workers' participation'; instead history and the present experience have to be examined in a way that correlates the concept of 'participation' with a more general theoretical approach. Consequently, the intention in this chapter is neither specifically to define nor to look at 'workers' participation' practice in detail, but rather to illuminate the major aspects which are internal to this field. The various practices and schemes of employee participation are examined using international evidence in order to expose possible contrasting features and make comparisons. At the same time, an evaluation of Industrial Relations theory is presented and discussed.

2.2 The era of industrial relations

What is industrial relations? What is workers' participation? As we saw earlier (Chapter 1) Industrial Relations does not in

itself constitute a general explanatory framework for the analysis of particular social institutions. In that sense, it is not a theory of the relations of production, but only an analytical basis for describing in specific terms structures around the productive process. Industrial relations is a product of a variety of social, economic and political phenomena. However, once Industrial Relations attempts to examine and explain circumstances beyond the immediate field of work relations, it ceases to be Industrial Relations, it becomes entrenched in the areas of sociology, history and economics.

At the same time the concept of 'workers' participation' (as part of industrial relations) belongs to certain types of structures which we may find in the working environment. Again, in this sense it can only be categorised but not theorised. It, also, is a product of history developing differently in each country. For this reason, workers' participation is a general concept and we may find hundreds of different and at the same time quite acceptable definitions for it.

Consequently, Industrial Relations is concerned 'with negotiations between unions and employers, with strikes, and with government intervention in strikes and negotiations ... it is the study of job regulation.'[1] Although there might be a variety of other definitions contradictory to the one suggested by Clegg the fact of the matter is that throughout its academic history Industrial Relations has not managed to break away decisively from looking at job regulation. If it ever does, this will mean the end of it as a 'separate' academic field of study.

However, the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been marked by the development of industrial relations techniques in the place of work. These have been the result of the rise of the manufacturing process (the age of industrialization) which became an internationally dominant force after the Industrial Revolution. The industrial age and the improvement and development of new machinery which altered the production process, in as much as it generated a labour force, is in reality the beginning of industrial relations in its most contemporary sense. In historical terms, therefore, industrial relations is in itself a 'tool' which is used just like any other in the production process. It 'objectifies' the contradiction between Capital and Labour by bringing it together in the workplace. Just as human material products do not exist in a vacuum, but in a network of social norms through which they acquire their specific identify and meaning, similarly industrial relations formations represent modes and ways of action which come about as a result of the environment on which they depend.

The historically specific (and remarkable) series of events that took place during the eighteenth century in Britain transformed industry and had an effect in the more general formation of British society. But these events were specifically confined to Britain at the time. The world does not function in a linear fashion. In consequence the effects of industrialization are not the same throughout the world.

In general terms 'the two really big changes that the 18th century brought to British industry were, as has been suggested, the

introduction of machinery driven by power, and the organisation of industry in factories. These things were the heart of the 'Industrial Revolution' which took place in Britain during the second half of the 18th century.'[2]

These were the effects of a slow process which had started long before and were not applied homogeneously throughout industry. At the same time they did not drastically alter conditions of human labour, the advance of industry 'meant very long hours of work in very bad conditions, it meant child labour, it meant slums, bad housing and overcrowding'.[3] It also meant the formulation of a new and different kind of relationship between employer and employee which was not only shaped by the specificity of the production process, but also by an articulation of a variety of other elements such as the gathering of the labour force in towns and the creation of a specific working class culture which is bonded together by the nature of work.

The selling of labour power for a wage generated the contradiction of Capital and Labour in its most classic form and is still relevant today, irrespective of the forms this process may take at any given historical period. Therefore, the particularity of the process of production created after the Industrial Revolution depends not only on the form that it takes in terms of new machinery, but also on the creation of a distinct relationship between Capital and Labour : 'in order that our owner of money may be able to find labour-power offered for sale as a commodity, various conditions must first be fulfilled ... labour-power can

appear upon the market as a commodity, only if, and so far as, its possessor, the individual whose labour-power it is, offers it for sale, or sells it, as a commodity.'[4] In other words, 'the exercise of... labour is the workers' own life-activity, the manifestation of his own life. And this life-activity he sells to another person in order to secure the necessary means of subsistence. Thus his life-activity is for him only a means to enable him to exist. He works in order to live. He does not even reckon labour as part of his life, it is rather a sacrifice of his life. It is a commodity which he has made over to another.'[5] The dehumanising aspect of the wage labour process is an integral part of the age of industry, of the factory system of production and of industrial relations methods as they were slowly developed and exercised at the beginning of the twentieth century. With the expansion and 'globalisation' of the methods of production adopted in Britain, came a whole new area of study which looked at the general characteristics of 'industrial society'. The process of industrialization and the role of industry became almost absolute concepts in the field of a positivistic sociology. Comte, Spencer, Durkheim, Parsons [6] are the most obvious advocates of a theory of society which is constructed along the parameters of the differences between the 'old' and 'new' social orders and which examines them from an 'organic' point of view. Parsons having combined the work of his classical predecessors and having the contemporary experience of the twentieth century attempted to construct a 'general systems theory for analysing all elements of the social world.'[7] Consequently, he moved from a general view of society to looking at organizations as systems in their own right which aim to achieve certain values and goals. For

Parsons, organizations are 'a formal analytical point of reference, primacy of orientation to the attainment of a specific goal is used as the defining characteristic of an organization which distinguishes it from other types of social systems'.[8] Therefore, organizations may be systematically examined in detail using a schematic form which distinguishes the institutional, managerial and technical levels which all interact to form the general organizational structure.[9]

The Parsonian view of industrial society, nevertheless, has been highly influential in the articulation of a 'systems' approach to industrial relations which looks at the specifically designed organization 'destined' to function in those terms in isolation from its immediate environment. It assumes a certain and necessary social order which is linear all the way through and can be applicable to all societies whatsoever. British Industrial Relations (and more generally the Anglo-Saxon school) were shaped by the classic philosophers (such as Comte, Spencer and Durkheim) and the later brands of organizational theory, which elevated the empirical study of organizations to the level of a systematic theoretical approach.

In fact in contemporary industrial sociological theory, the most valuable contribution is the one of Weber. His analysis of the basic concepts of sociology, through the framework of 'verband' (organization) related the specific pecularity of the capitalist economy to the function of an organization. More specifically : 'the expropriation of the individual worker from ownership of the

means of production is in part determined by the following purely technical factors : (a) The fact that sometimes the means of production require the services of many workers, at the same time or successively; (b) the fact that sometimes sources of power can only be rationally exploited by using them simultaneously for many similar types of work under unified control; (c) the fact that often a technically rational organization of the work process is possible only by combining many complementary processes under continuous common supervision; (d) the fact that sometimes special technical training is needed for the management of co-ordinated processes of labour which, in turn, can only be exploited rationally on a large scale; (e) the fact that, if the means of production and raw materials are under unified control, there is the possibility of subjecting labour to a stringent discipline and thereby controlling both the speed of work and standardization and quality of products.'[10] The ideal-type bureaucracy and organization crystallized through the necessity of 'domination' structures and their legitimacy is one of the major successes of the Weberian analytical framework, irrespective of whether stringent hierarchy (and its legitimation) can be found in other modes of production. Nevertheless, the extreme rationalization of the working process relates to its 'dehumanization' which as we argued earlier is a very important part of industrial relations methods.

2.3 Industrial Relations as Social Relationships

Concurrently with the era of industrial relations which developed partly because of the emergence of industrialised

production techniques we have a variety of social and political changes occurring. Political discourse became a very important aspect of the conduct of economic and social affairs for an increasingly greater number of people. After 1870 'it became increasingly clear that the democratization of the politics of states was quite inevitable ... electoral systems based on a wider franchise, sometimes even in theory on universal male suffrage, already existed in the 1870's in France, in Germany (at any rate for the all-German Parliament), in Switzerland and in Denmark. In Britain the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1883 almost quadrupled the electorate which rose from 8 to 29 per cent of men over the age of twenty'[11] In this sense, the politics of participation in the affairs of the state had started and it was only a matter of time before it was transferred to the place of work through the creation of trade union movements. In fact, the economic and political changes are far more important in shaping the environment of industrial relations and workers' participation than the technological changes which may occur at any given historical period. Marglin, for example, stressed that 'the agglomeration of workers into factories was a natural outgrowth of the putting-out system (a result, if you will, of its internal contradictions) whose success had little or nothing to do with the technological superiority of large-scale machinery.'[12] Benjamin Gott, the great Yorkshire mill-owner, used only human energy in his mills; hand-weavers were brought together in his weaving sheds long before power looms were introduced.[13]

The non-universality of industrial relations techniques and their determination by social and political factors can be

illustrated if we look at the early models of organizational theory. In general terms they all have a common underlying theme: the subordination of labour. Taylorism is the most obvious example of such methods with the arm of relentlessly increasing labour productivity and consequently capital accumulation.

Although methods for profit optimization had been in existence before Taylor, he was the first to attempt a crude reduction of human beings to mechanical objects of production. His 'system' is probably reminiscent of pre-feudal society (slavery), blended to modern industrial techniques. At the same time, it shows the incapacity of a 'pure' Industrial Relations 'theory' to provide solutions to problems of work using a technological point of departure; in other words Taylorism proves that there is no pure technological and schematic solution to problems involving major social, political and economic issues. Taylor's basic principle of scientific management was founded on the following assumption : 'Now one of the very first requirements for a man who is fit to handle pig-iron as a regular occupation is that he shall be so stupid and so phlegmatic that he more nearly resembles in his mental make-up the ox then any other type... He is so stupid that the word 'percentage' has no meaning to him, and he must consequently be trained by a man more intelligent than himself into the habit of working in accordance with the laws of this science before he can be successful.'[14] In retrospect, though, many of the recommendations made by Taylor (such as work measurement, task prescriptions, incentive schemes and motivation) can still be found in a variety of work places throughout the world. The strict Taylorist lines of

organisation may not be applicable everywhere, but the issues of motivating through various schemes the already trained labour force in order to achieve greater economic efficiency are still relevant today. Quite a substantial number of labour-management relations studies still rest on the presumptions of 'mutual interest'.[15]

Industrial Relations, as a whole, has also been influenced by the work of Fayol, Urwick and Mayo with the development of the 'Human Relations School'. Again these writers were based on the philosophical foundations of Durkheimian ideas, and they created in fact the backbone of contemporary industrial relations theory. Their major preoccupation is related to how collaboration is to be achieved in modern society.[16] But although all of these writers began their analyses from the basic premise that individuals must cooperate in order to achieve a purpose, they did not examine the major elements of social practice which induce people to cooperate and thus created the established, parochial and traditional basis of the most up-to-date Industrial Relations theories: 'Theories', which in fact are nothing more than descriptions of the working environment's institutions. In this sense we have to agree with Miliband's comment : ''industrial relations', the consecrated euphemism for the permanent conflict, now acute, now subdued, between capital and labour.'[17] A theory cannot be descriptive in order to be a theory. A description is not theory. In order to grasp the idea behind the void of Industrial Relations theory we only have to look at the fact that all such theory does not explain anything. It only describes and prescribes possible solutions to supposed problems of management-labour relations. This 'theory' in

its most progressive form looks at the development of trade unions again as systems of interaction through terms such as 'collective bargaining'.[18] Flanders (1975) for example analyzes the dual role of the trade unions, and Fox (1974) deals with the institutionalization of conflict in modern society. Banks (1974) also sets out to look sociologically at the trade union movement and industrial relations systems as a whole. However, this is not suggesting that Industrial Relations is not a valuable body of knowledge which can be used to illustrate the specific problems which exist in the area of work. But, they are static reference points of analysis and can be used in historical terms to show the emergence and the intricate details of systems applied to the working environment. In this sense, most Industrial Relations literature is strongly linked to the whole area of investigation into the relationship of industrial structures to the wider social and political environment. To put it in more specific terms: industrial relations 'theory' and practice is the result of an agglomeration of factors which initiated the factory system, wage-labour and in more general terms the development of capitalism as a social formation. Consequently industrial relations 'theory' and practice exist only as a result of these other factors. In this sense and because society changes and evolves, industrial relations change and evolve with it; there cannot be absolute and constantly definable systems of industrial relations or general 'laws' and 'regulations' which govern those. Industrial relations only express the contemporary instant which tomorrow may be obsolete rendering the whole 'theory' of industrial relations obsolete in itself. As an expression of a particularity in social relationships, industrial

relations changes with social relationships. Therefore, it cannot claim to theorise about anything, it can only claim to describe the historically significant 'now' of relations at the place of work. At the same time, the examination of industrial relations differs considerably from country to country. The validity of looking at different systems lies in the fact that these systems derive from a variety of experiences which relate to social and political development. Any institutionalised system of industrial relations must necessarily be the product of social struggle. Consequently 'there is a need to proceed cautiously regarding the possibility of making out-of-context transfers to different social and economic milieus'.[19] (sic).

The character of the interaction of the 'social' within the industrial framework is of such multiplicity, not only between countries but between regions within a country, that it is very difficult simply to translate developments from one to another and expect any sort of success. This can be illustrated by the failure of the 1971 Industrial Relations Act which tried to shift the balance of power from collective bargaining and trade unions to a more 'individualistic' legal framework. The intention was 'the replacement of collectivist laissez-faire in labour law with a comprehensive and strongly interventionist legal framework which featured legal concepts drawn from North American legislation'.[20] At the same time it did not work 'since not only did the trade unions actively resist its operation and many employers fail to utilise its provisions but, more especially, where the Act ran up

against established customs and traditions then it was singularly unsuccessful'.[21] However, the 'theoretical' and ideological principles behind the Act (attack on unionization based on the principles of Hayek and his disciples) re-appeared in the 1980 Employment Act, exactly because the nature of the social characteristics of British society had changed. Having gone through the turmoils of the 1970's economic crisis, the ideological background of a substantial part of British society was beginning to shift towards different orientations without necessarily being decided upon where it was going. The political impact of the Thatcher government was that it moulded the society's discontent into a strict and rigid right-wing ideological framework. On a social level part of the product of the society's power conflict was the institutionalisation of the 1980 Act. Consequently 'in terms of presentation for popular consumption the Act is extremely cunning. Designed to appeal to widely-held prejudice and ignorance and clothed in libertarian rhetoric there can be little doubt of its popularity. It especially touches a chord with respect to the closed shop. It seems likely that, in the abstract many feel the compulsion to become a union member is tyrannical, even though in practice only derisory numbers are likely to feel that way.'[22]

This very specific example of an event in British political history, indicates the configuration of the 'theoretical' and the 'social' to the immediate industrial environment. It can be examined in the context of current British politics and economics and not in terms of the changes in the institutional aspects of industrial affairs that were adopted. These changes happened as a

result of a mixture of societal elements and of a politics which had as its main predominant base the ideology of re-establishing power relations at the workplace and was in favour of further subordinating labour.

2.4 The experience of workers' participation

The exposition of Industrial Relations 'theory' as part of the social, the economic and the political, points to the fact that the development of significant differences in industrial relations systems amongst various countries will also determine the nature of workers' participation structures. The consequence of this for a study of workers' participation is that again we need to look beyond the institutionalization of participation. In this respect just as there is no specific and definitive underlying theme in Industrial Relations 'theory' (apart from it being the study of 'job regulation), similarly workers' participation 'theory' does not represent anything more than an examination of schemes which allow for greater participation in the running of industrial affairs.

However, there are certain elements which we need to clarify here : after all what is workers' participation? First of all it is an integral part of the industrial relations process and cannot really be separated from it. In this case the concept does not present us with a separate field of investigation. At the same time, exactly because workers' participation is a product of social and political discourse, it cannot be singularly identified, in other words the 'theoretical' definitions that exist for it are all

products of a particular ideological point of view. For example, in Britain the Bullock Committee advocated board representation by trade-union members in large-scale industries.[23] But the Bullock Report never became statutory law.

On the other hand, experience from other European countries shows that there exists a variety of workers' participation schemes, 'in Scandinavia, legislation has again been effected to cover participation in the boardroom, collective bargaining rights have been extended to the factory, and the restructuring of workgroups to facilitate 'responsible autonomy' has been of significance'. [24]

Therefore, workers' participation may mean a variety of things depending on the specific context which is examined. In terms of a theoretical appreciation of the issue, the point is to move away from constructing 'theoretical' assumptions about what is or should be meant by the term. In reality, the basic concept lies in the fact that the process of workers' participation is part of the more fundamental issues of power and control which exist throughout society. These are, in turn, issues which relate to the labour process and its relationship to capital accumulation. It is also important to conceive all the structures that develop, as results of the more general process of creating value, surplus value and profit. Therefore, employment relationships are not only a matter of technical or institutional evaluation, but processes which shape capital accumulation. But, although the process of capital accumulation is reproduced throughout the world in the abstract sense, in the real sense it is not a uniform activity. The forms it

takes are different because they are the result of many factors which we discussed earlier (see also Chapter 1).

Over the past twenty years there has been a widespread debate and implementation of various systems for workers' participation in the decision-making process. In Britain, the TUC discussed the issue in 1966 and recommended employee representation on the board, and by 1974 it saw board level representation as a right that should be available to organised workers and in the report of that year called for legislation to provide for that right to be exercised.[25] At the same time there were moves throughout Europe (and on a world-wide basis) which clearly identified the main parameters for the setting out of employees participation. In 1972 the EEC published 'draft proposals for a fifth Directive on company law, proposing employee representation on the supervisory boards of all companies in the Community with over 500 employees'.[26] In 1974, the OECD was acknowledging that democracy must be extended to embrace the place of work.[27] The preoccupations of international organisations were at first to seek to clarify certain basic issues such as the fact that there must be an established mechanism of information, consultation and negotiation. Therefore, standard-setting should not be too rigid but there should be minimum standards adhered to by all. For example the ILO which has formulated a variety of policies for all areas of work is required because of its Constitution 'to introduce an element of flexibility into the instruments it adopts' and 'to give standards a 'variable content'.'[28] The important point is to enable workers to have an influential role in the decision-making process within the industry.

For many, this can be achieved either through 'collective bargaining which can be said to remain the major form of workers' participation in the USA, Britain and to a significant extent in Japan,'[29] or through more specific participatory mechanisms such as those adopted in Sweden and Germany. In this respect, and due to the multiplicity of participatory schemes it is very difficult to find a formula which will theoretically evaluate which is the better and most workable system. For example, evidence from the German system of co-determination (which assumes the existence of similar interests between employers and employees) compared to the USA suggests that both systems may have certain inherent problems. Consequently, 'observation in co-determination plants shows that workers are readily transferred - although this usually means a poorer-paying job - if they cannot cope with job conditions and that work crews of the key operations enjoy a high degree of autonomy in setting their own pace, breaks etc. But jobs and workplaces themselves remain unchanged unless technological innovations render the tasks easier'.[30]

On the other hand, systems of participation which are based on more traditional union action may be faced with other problems of cooperation between management and union representatives and problems of vertical distribution of information amongst union members themselves. (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of the Greek example). In France, the 'Bilan Social' which set forth to construct a scheme close to that of co-determination was faced with the 'politically negative attitude of the workers, for which the trade unions bear some responsibility'.[31] This was due to the historically traditional development of unionism in France. Also, 'in Italy trade unions have shown an attitude of strong diffidence

not only towards workers' participation within private enterprise but towards any other form of bilateral institution set up to co-determine working conditions with management - viewing collective bargaining as being the primary way to regulate labour management relations. Nevertheless, workers' participation in that country has gained momentum in recent years not only via an extension in the subject-matter of collective agreements but even as a result of a new and more positive approach towards enterprise profitability and productive efficiency on the part of the Left.'[32]

Most of the evidence from the experience of workers' participation schemes indicates continuous variations and a multiplicity of results. In some countries there have been certain advances in the flow of information about industrial policy, in others, worker representation on company boards has not really worked,[33] and in most examples the underlying basis of industrial decision-making has not been substantially affected. However, there is no single and ultimate evaluation which can be offered, simply because the whole process is evolving and different systems are being modified or put into use on a more or less non-uniform basis.

2.5 Workers' Participation in the EEC context

One of the most important developments in recent years, which might have an influential role over the long run with regards to establishing some sort of uniformity across Europe, is the Delors agenda for a Social Charter. Apart from the political implications of whether it will be collectively adopted by all Member States the

fact remains that it sets out a minimum degree of terms and conditions of employment. The Charter is based on the idea of joint-management between all concerned in industry.[34] At the same time it puts forward propositions for developing regulations with regards to the establishment of the following:

- a minimum wage.
- methods for equitable payment for part-time employees.
- provision of adequate social security.
- legal enforcement of rights of workers to belong to unions and negotiate on collective agreements with the possibility of taking strike action if necessary.
- initiatives on employee involvement which have to be developed according to the tradition of individual countries.

There are also a number of other proposals related to safety and health, the protection of children and adolescents and the establishment of a decent standard of living for the elderly.[35] But the major thrust of the Social Charter is that the Internal Market of 1992 'could not effectively take place without commonly agreed rules to ensure social and economic cohesion, as well as equality of opportunity for all'.[36] However, the Charter is not binding 'but would certainly create a political obligation'.[37] The diversity of social regulations in the European Community and the political impact of national governments are and will continue to be important elements in the articulation of a common policy with regards to workers' rights and industrial relations. Many countries have failed to ratify a number of minimum conventions with regards

to many issues affecting employment (Table 1) and in Britain, for example, recent employment laws have created a deteriorating situation between employers and unions.[38] In the 1989 TUC Conference, the opposition to the government's employment legislation was expressed through the unanimous backing of a call to repeal all 'anti-union legislation and the establishment of legal guarantees to protect unions from civil damages claims by employers'.[39]

In general, the emphasis in Britain is to strengthen employers' rights and to shift the centre of the debate from employee participation to a more flexible approach in the conduct of industrial relations where each individual firm will have to decide upon its policy. There is also a shift towards 'employee involvement' which does not really contradict the Delors proposals. Therefore, state legislation on employee participation in Britain has not been about enforcing a particular scheme, but about voluntary development of various systems. The TUC generally supports 'an extension of employee participations, including employee involvement as long as it is built around strong representative structures and does not bypass collective bargaining'.[40]

In fact, if government policy had a central theme which it wanted to enforce, that was related to the idea of de-regulating and fragmenting the process of collective decision-making. In general, the proportion of workplaces with joint consultative committees remained constant between 1980 and 1984 at around 34 per cent.[41] In

No.	Exact title of the Convention	Date of entry into force	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	ML	P
94	Labour clauses (public contracts). 1949	20.9.1972	x	x			x	x		x		x	
98	right to organize and collective bargaining, 1949	18.7.1951	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
111	discrimination in respect of employment and of occupation	15.6.1960	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x
115	protection of workers against ionizing radiation, 1960	17.6.1962	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	
119	guarding of machinery, 1963	21.4.1965					x			x			
120	hygiene (in commerce and offices), 1964	29.3.1966	x	x	x		x	x		x			x
131	minimum wage fixing, 1970	29.4.1972					x	x				x	
132	annual holidays with pay (revised), 1970	30.6.1973			x		x		x	x	x		x
136	benzine, 1971	27.7.1973			x	x	x	x		x			
138	minimum age for admission to employment, 1973	19.6.1976			x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
139	occupational cancer, 1974	10.6.1976		x	x					x			
140	paid educational leave, 1974	23.9.1976			x		x	x				x	
148	working environment, aid pollution, noise, vibration	11.7.1979					x	x		x			x
149	concerning nursing personnel 1977	11.7.1979	x					x	x				x
151	conditions of employment in the public service, 1978	25.2.1981	x					x	x				x
154	promotion of collective bargaining, 1981	11.8.1983					x						
155	safety and health of workers, 1981	11.8.1983					x						x
156	workers with family responsibilities, 1981	11.8.1983					x						x
157	maintenance of rights in social security, 1982	11.9.1986					x						
158	termination of employment, 1982	23.11.1985					x						
159	occupational readaptation and employment of handicapped persons, 1983					x	x						
160	health services, 1985	pending											
162	concerning safety in the use of asbestos, 1986	pending											

Table 1: Position as regards ratification by Member States of the EEC of a list of ILO conventions likely to be relevant in the context of a body of minimum social provisions.

Source: Commission of European Communities, 1988, p.107.

the private sector there was a decline of firms with a joint consultative committee and this 'was most marked in manufacturing, where the fall was from 36 per cent to 30 per cent.'[42] On the other hand there was an increase in the public sector from 42 per cent to 48 per cent, but this is 'at the margins of statistical significance'[43] and also it 'appears to be largely confined to small establishments, where joint consultative committees are less common and there is, therefore, a greater potential for new committees.'[44]

Subsequently, Britain has not seen an expansion of workers' participation through board representation, although the system has not been abandoned completely. This is also due to government policy over the last 10 years which sought to bring about the idea of 'popular capitalism' through new systems of participation which would include share-ownership, profit related pay, profit-sharing and other similar schemes.

In other European countries similar changes have also been taking place over a longer period of time. In France participation takes two forms : 'on the one hand, employee involvement in company decision-making is effected through Works Councils (Comite d'entreprise) and employee representatives on the Board of Directors.'[45] This sort of participation, as opposed to other countries such as Germany and to a certain extent Britain, is not very well developed. Industrial councils have very limited responsibilities and they are supposed to play an advisory role which in fact limits their capacity to be informed about problems at various organisational levels. Also, workers' representation at

other levels of the firm is not very well developed. This is mainly due to the role of the trade unions and the friction created between unions and management. Neither side agrees on a 'common effort' system. But, on the other hand participation 'involves employees holding a direct financial stake in other firms'.[46] In fact, this idea goes back to the 1950's, when De Gaulle defined his understanding of the term 'participation' as the cooperation between all the people of an industry who should share the profits and the risks of the business. Therefore, the concept of financial participation is very strong in France and the industrial relations system is geared towards participation in profits and share-owning instead of cooperation at the decision-making level.[47] In 1959, the first profit-sharing schemes appeared based on company trading profits and productivity improvements. A few years later in 1967, legislation was introduced which enabled firms to be exempt from paying tax on the money workers received. In 1986, new regulations encouraged even more the introduction of profit-sharing schemes both in the public and private sectors.

In Germany, there have been no major changes in Labour Relations and the basic co-determination laws are still in existence. In fact a judgement by the Federal Labour Court in 1986, extended the rights of works' councils to participate in decision-making, and acknowledged 'that they have a right of initiative as regards the introduction of short-time working, the Court conceded that short-time working provided a means of maintaining jobs and - at least temporarily - avoiding redundancies'.[48] There have been various changes in employment law and extensions to provisions regarding unemployment benefit for the young and for the long-term unemployed. Also, in 1986, the

government restricted payment of state benefit to workers laid off as a result of strike action in other areas. The new law says that 'workers laid off as a result of industrial action in the same sector but in another region are not entitled to state benefit if they are covered by the same claim and are likely to gain from the outcome'.[49] But, in general terms, Germany remains a typical example of cooperation in industrial relations and where a concern for consensus is an integral part of the way the industrial relations system is functioning. Thus, 'works councils are required to collaborate with management, have no right to resort to strike action and, indeed, are forbidden to encourage strikes.'[50]

In other EC countries such as Denmark and Spain there are policies of deregulation and flexibility being pursued by the government. In Denmark employee share schemes are introduced in the private sector and Spain, having had to go through a period of extensive restructuring and modernization of its economic infrastructure, has also gone through a spate of industrial unrest which is the result of the employers' push for greater flexibility in the economy. Both these countries tried to promote a greater degree of participation : for example, in Denmark the 'workforce threshold for compulsory joint consultation has been lowered from 50 employees to 35 and over, the obligation to inform the joint consultative committee and specific staff members has been extended, access by other groups of staff members, particularly those in higher positions to these committees has been eased, a degree of obligation to inform workers has been introduced and penalties laid down for infringement of the agreements'. [51] Also in Spain an agreement on trade-union participation was concluded in 1986. Participation could be achieved either through the presence of

trade-union representatives on the administrative bodies of public sector firms, or through the creation of joint information and monitoring committees whose function would be to study a firm's industrial and economic plans in relation to issues affecting a whole area of work organization.[52]

In general terms, workers' participation in the European Community context is widely applicable using one type of system or another. The emphasis at the end of 1980's has been directed to the application of 'deregulated' and 'flexible' techniques of conducting industrial relations. If there is some underlying pattern to be found, that is mainly related to efforts towards the 'social' and an increase in 'employee involvement' schemes which take a variety of forms. A recent EEC employee survey carried out between 1985-1986 indicated, amongst other things, that profit-sharing is not very widespread yet and that there was a widespread view that payment should be more closely linked to performance. Over half the workers questioned (56%) took the view 'that payment should be based not only on occupation, but also on personal performance'.[53] This particular result is also significant in relation to the case of the Greek Telecommunications Sector employees who expressed a similar view (see Chapter 4). The results of the European Survey reproduced the non-linear patterns that we have been describing : on some issues such as pay and working hours there are such patterns appearing amongst workers, i.e. the majority of employees (62%) said they would prefer a wage increase to a reduction in working hours, while at the same time there are 'clear differences in preferences

from one Member State to another: workers in Portugal, Ireland, the United Kingdom and Greece showed far higher than average interest in wages increases'.[54] This is probably because these workers have a lower standard of income than workers in Denmark, Holland and Germany. (see also Chapter 5) Consequently, the traditional political and economic differences which exist across Europe are the most important factors which shape present and future industrial relations and workers' participation systems. But, the shift, in relative terms, towards the use of 'employee involvement' scheme is also an important element of the debate and it is that to which we turn our attention in the next part.

2.6 'New' Forms of Workers' Participation

Recent literature on new forms of workers' participation represents a shift in emphasis which is following the trend of examining world economic restructuring only in terms of linear movements from 'Fordism' to 'post-Fordism' and accounting for the new flexible firm which, due to its nature, has to use renewed forms of management-labour relations (see also Chapter 1 for a discussion of 'flexibility'). In fact, evidence suggests that, as we have seen, there is no linear development of industrial relations techniques. However, there is some evidence to show that because of economic change and developments, there has been a resurgence of the debate on participation which is especially articulated around the emergence of a 'new generation of participation' which according to some 'could well overset industrial relations systems as they are today'.[55] The idea is that the modernisation of production techniques and the abandonment of mass production require new

models of workers' participation simply because the old ones are not compatible with the emerging principles of worker autonomy, and participation which enters the inner-areas of decision-making. These areas relate to an end of conflictual industrial relations by bringing about a 'united firm' model which will serve all the interested parties. As a consequence a transformation of employer-employee relations will occur, which will incorporate the principle of 'common responsibility'.

These concepts also relate to the idea of a diffusion of responsibility amongst all who work in industry and the understanding of participation as a moral incentive for workers.

In fact all this is just the ideological gloss and exists only in the 'eyes of the beholder'. This is not to say that there have not been any changes, but these are neither specifically 'new', nor do they indicate a particular pattern for the conduct of industrial relations. And, in any case, increased flexibility of production on a global basis does not necessarily pre-determine significant changes in industrial relations techniques. In general, there have been three major employee involvement policies advocated throughout Europe: profit-sharing and profit-related-pay; quality circles; team briefing and human involvement. The underlying theme common to all is a generation of peaceful industrial relations (as it has always been) and an ideological persuasion directed at recreating the idea of the legitimacy of capitalism as the ultimate social and economic formation. In other words, the most important aspect in the discussion of these methods is the underlying political choice which drives governments and management towards the imposition of such schemes.

A second interesting point is that their appearance is neither new nor extremely innovatory. They have appeared before as in the case of the establishment of profit-sharing arrangements between 1865-1873.[56] Marx had commented that profit-sharing served only as 'a special bonus which can achieve its purpose only as an exception to the rule ... or else it is a special way of cheating workers and of deducting a part of their wages in the more precarious form of a profit depending on the state of the business'.[57] In Britain, the scheme first appeared in order to balance out the worsening of labour relations. It was 'explicitly directed at the exclusion of unions from the company'[58] and worked until the recession of 1874 when wages had to be cut. There were some other attempts to revive profit-sharing but it never really became a prominent form of industrial organization in Britain. In fact, it did not manage substantially to change industrial relations and workers' participation.[59]

A study from Glasgow University showed that there was little evidence to support the view that such schemes would make a significant impact on employee-company relations. Although many companies operate several scheme along the same lines, most are taken-up by higher paid employees. At the same time 'schemes are more common among public companies in the UK and among US rather than European-owned companies operating in Britain'.[60] Also, they did not really seem to influence pay rewards : 'in 21.2 per cent of cases, profit-sharing bonuses amount to more than 10 per cent of pay. But more than 60 per cent said such bonuses make up less than 6 per cent of pay'.[61] Most importantly, workers were not usually consulted about the implementation of the scheme, with only 8.6 per

cent of companies having gone through the process of employee consultation. But, as we have seen it is an important aspect of French [62] industrial relations although it remains one of the least effective schemes in Western Europe.

There have been variations on the theme with the most important being profit-link pay (merit pay) and performance-related pay (prp). Also, the buying of shares has been a key policy of the Thatcher administration since it has been linked to the advancement of free market capitalism, privatisation and all the ideological paradigms that these terms involve which were mainly directed towards internal consumption. The idea of 'popular capitalism' through buying shares has only really caught on in Britain for a specific number of social and political reasons which are beyond the nature of this discussion. However, various schemes related to prp and profit-linked pay can be found throughout Europe which suggests that they might be more effective.

In Britain, the government presented the idea of profit related pay as a document in 1986. It was thought that through such a scheme the rigidities of the pay system could be alleviated and the workforce would be given 'a more direct personal interest in their company's success'.[63] Although some companies took in the idea,[64] once again there were substantial problems because companies did not wholly adhere to it.[65] This was due to difficulties in implementing the system in some industrial sectors and also because industry already had other schemes in operation. Some industries did not take to the idea at all because it did not consider such factors as

exchange rates or different markets. Consequently, the scheme may not be workable on a universal basis, but as we have already seen, some firms may implement variations of it depending on their size, profitability and the already existing network of industrial relations. Again, there is no substantial evidence to suggest that a wide implementation of prp would improve industrial relations and workers' participation. Indeed, only 24 per cent of British employees saw a strong link between pay and performance when asked such a question.[66]

However, the debate on prp, and in general on any scheme that presupposes an increase in productivity in order to get a wage increase, has to involve some concept of capital accumulation in order to be more evaluated.[67]

In other words, it has to be understood in terms of the articulation of capital-labour relations over a specific period of time. These are dependent upon the current state of the economy, on whether capital has the capability to expand and on what basis it will do so. For example, capital may expand production without altering the given technological base on a massive scale. It may also increase productivity by using a variety of labour-saving techniques which may either involve technological changes (and thus new investment in fixed capital) or the use of systems such as prp and merit pay.

Therefore, if we perceive the process of production in these terms it becomes quite clear that capital will always seek to

increase productivity through the use of techniques which do not necessarily involve huge restructuring of the technological basis of production. If capital wishes to expand it also has to use some control mechanism in relation to wage rises. Wages cannot remain the same for an indefinite period of time, due to economic pressures (rate of inflation) and the resulting social and political pressures (level of trade-unionism and corresponding demands on wage rises). But, if there is no corresponding correcting process between the level of productivity and the level of wages, then capital accumulation will fall. An increased amount of capital (in relative terms) will be needed to produce an amount not greater than before. Consequently, the productivity of labour will have been decreased because each product will now need more capital advanced for its production.

Leaving aside the arguments on how to relate the concepts of prp and performance measurement, to an objective evaluation of work, the basic point is well expounded in the following passage : as we said if wages rise, (other things remaining the same) the productivity of labour declines and therefore 'this quantity of labour would be expressed in a diminished product, i.e. the price of each aliquot part of the product would rise, since each part represented more labour. The increased wages of 150 would represent a product no greater than 100 did before... Thus, if the capital advanced for putting the same amount of labour in motion grows or declines, the value of the product rises or falls, conditions being otherwise identical ...'[68] It is clear from this that any discussion of phenomena such a prp, profit-sharing and any other schemes linking pay with performance must be associated to the

particular conditions of production. In order to get a more accurate theoretical appreciation of these issues, we must examine them in terms which will bring out the most intricate and inner reasons for their appearance.

The same can be said in relation to other forms of employee involvement such as quality circles. In this case, although the concept was at first developed in Canada and the USA, it has been used very successfully in Japan and subsequently 'exported' to Europe. There is a number of quality circles schemes in operation throughout the world and 'at a meeting of the European Organisation for Quality Control in Finland in 1984 it was claimed that 19 countries in Europe were operating QC's. It also estimated that some 1500 organisations in America have a QC programme.'[69] The underlying principle of quality circles is to create an environment where supervisors, workers and management will work together in order to solve problems and improve the quality of the workplace and of the organisation as a whole. According to the National Society of Quality Circles (formed in 1982) quality circles are: 'a group of four to twelve people coming from the same work area, performing similar work, who voluntarily meet on a regular basis to identify, investigate, analyse and solve their own work-related problems. The circle presents solution to management and is usually involved in implementing and later monitoring them. They are not always called Circles but it is convenient to use this general term for descriptive purposes. The precise design too will vary from place to place but all circle-like groups follow an essentially standard pattern of approach to problems. The problems that circles tackle

are not restricted to quality topics but can include anything associated with work or its environment. Negotiated items such as pay and conditions are, however, normally excluded.'[70]

Therefore, the major parameter of quality circles is the breaking-down of what are regarded as 'traditional' industrial participation methods and a degree of anti-unionisation facilitated through the establishment of a common 'family' environment where each employee will be able to voice their opinion in a non-conflictual manner. Again, the idea of creating an environment where conflict does not exist and there is no real plurality of interests is deeply rooted in the philosophy of an organic view of society and subsequently of industry itself.

Although quality circles and, in general, team-working are being tried out by a variety of industries (Nissan, Ford, British Shipbuilders, Hitachi, Rothmans and others) they have not been an unqualified success. This is due to the fact that, as we have said before, these systems may only work in a specific type of industry where the traditional culture allows for them (such as in Japan). Also work behaviour of employees is not a consistent variable which can be manipulated for prolonged periods of time. The social and political environment in which an industry finds itself, is a much more important indicator of whether a particular scheme can be effective. Finally, how is the 'effectiveness' of the system itself be measured? In other words, what are the criteria which determine whether a scheme has been successful and who sets these? There is a substantial amount of evidence which supports the view that although

team-working types of schemes have spread, they have not widened the process of participation and it is doubtful whether they are the cause of industries becoming more successful.[71]

On the other hand, organisations have been found to be paying more attention 'to the management and development of their employees.'[72] Although, the ultimate goal of cost-cutting and profit increase might not necessarily be achieved because of the introduction of 'quality circles' techniques, conclusions from studies of parallel systems such as team-briefing (teamworking and other employee involvement schemes such as 'staff-suggestions') indicate that at least 'employees feel more a part of the organisation' and 'opportunities for misunderstandings are greatly reduced.'[73]

Team-briefing is very similar to quality circles in the sense that a small group of employees are gathered to discuss 'a number of topics that management wishes to put on the agenda'.[74] It is simply a way to delegate information through the industrial hierarchy. In this case, as in all others we have discussed, there is no uniform pattern of acceptance throughout industry, although it has been adopted by a number of industries.[75] For example, Allied Dunbar Assurance and Dan Air Services (See Guest, 1986) have attempted to develop employee involvement through means of communication to employees very similar to team-briefing methods. In Allied Dunbar, they have introduced bulletins on specific issues and briefing sessions, and they also use questionnaires containing questions on the managers' performance. In the case of Dan Air, there is 'a

monthly staff newspaper, an annual report to employees and twice-yearly meetings between board members and groups of staff to report on the company's position and progress'.[76] Both types of systems are not particularly effective in terms of enhancing participation and in the case of Allied Dunbar there is no formal trade union organization whatsoever. There is also a variety of other similar schemes in operation in a number of other companies not only in Britain but also in the USA. The most important point, however, is that all these schemes are to be found in industries which in most cases are not highly unionized (or completely nonunionized). This of course does not mean that such systems cannot co-exist alongside union organisations or even joint-consultative systems. For example, staff suggestion schemes (a means of associating workers with efforts to increase efficiency and productivity) are, in many countries, determined by collective agreement. In Austria and in Sweden suggestion schemes have been agreed upon by employers and works councils.[77] In Britain, for example, it was estimated that 'companies making use of employees' suggestion schemes saved more than £16 m in 1987'.[78]

2.7 Workers' Participation for all?

The articulation and co-existence of different methods and systems of industrial participation indicates that there is no singular way of conducting capital-labour relations.

The evidence presented so far shows that the concept of workers' participation is not an 'objective' one, there is no

particularly 'good' or 'bad' way of enhancing the process. There are many different ways which depend upon the development of capital-labour relations within an industry and within society. Each system has to be judged on its merits, but at the same time such a judgement does not mean that a system can be universally applied. In this sense the descriptive nature of Industrial Relations is important in providing relevant information for analysis.

Yet, the whole preoccupation with 'structures' around the organisation of work has missed the other side : industry is not only based on organised structures, but also on a variety of other elements such as the employment of cheap labour, bad working conditions and at the same time, the introduction of new technologies at the place of work. These areas of work, together with a wider implementation of 'flexible' working practices (subcontracting, temporary workers, internal contracts and so on) are very important pieces in the whole network of industrial organisation.

Also, the experience of work involves a whole set of other issues which have to do with political and moral values, culture and psychology. Again, the traditional preoccupation with forms of industrial relations such as 'collective bargaining' and 'workers' participation' may ignore all these elements which after all bring out the whole of the work experience.[79] The problems of low-paid and part-time work further elaborate the conflicting issues which relate to industrial relations and industrial democracy. In this

case, people do not, by definition, participate in the decision-making process. Even in the case of the EEC where, as we have seen, there is a lot of debate on the social implications of the internal market, there are a lot of workers who belong to the fringe of any process related to an enhancement of industrial democracy. Part-time work has increased throughout the EEC in the past few years, especially in relation to the female workforce (Table 2). The deeper implications for labour are related to deteriorating conditions of work, low pay and an increasing degree of exploitation. At the same time, and due to a continuation of unemployment, many people would accept more easily, work under any circumstances.[80]

The notion of 'flexibility', which has been advocated by many as an objective trend towards a stronger economy, is not only related to a wider globalisation of the production process and to changes in the production techniques, but also to the way labour is used. Flexible firms become 'flexible' because of the way they contract labour which in many instances means temporary employment on a short-term contract basis, or sub-contracting supplemental employees to do work such as cleaning, catering and security.[81]

For example, in the UK where part-time work increased from 4% in 1951 to 23% in 1987, it has meant a deteriorating standard of pay for most employees. According to the New Earnings Survey 'average hourly earnings for part-time women were £2.43 in April 1985' and also that part-timers are 'less likely to become members of unions'.[82]

Country	Part-time Employment		
	Male	Female	% of total employment
Denmark	1.6	28.2	11.8
Holland	7.6	50.5	22.4
UK	3.9	43.9	21.3
W.Germany	1.4	29.1	12.3
France	2.3	19.8	9.7
Belgium	1.3	22.2	8.5
Luxembourg	2.1	16.1	7.1
Ireland	2.2	8.1	4.2
Greece	2.6	5.3	4.4
Italy	2.2	8.1	4.2

Table 2 : Percentage of workforce in part-time employment

Sources : IDS/PA European Report 283 : 3 February 1987, p.7; Eurostat Labour Force Survey 1985; Afouxenidis, A. and Psimmenos, I. 1989, Neo-conservatism and Industrial Relations, p.82.

The implications for 'industrial democracy' are apparent in the case of people who do not have any real rights and who are not in the position to influence their working arrangements whatsoever. Problems are further exacerbated if we consider homeworking where pay may be even lower and divisions between homeworkers larger. Evidence on this form of work has been contradictory : the Employment Department has suggested 'that home-based workers may form as much as one quarter of the 'non core' labour force and that they are now spread across the whole range of occupational groups'.[83] However, 'only 6 per cent of respondents in the ACAS survey employed homeworkers and these were confined largely to two industrial groups - Metal goods and electrical engineering and food, drink, timber, paper, rubber and plastics'.[84] In terms of pay and conditions there is not a lot of evidence either in the UK, or across Europe, in order to have a clearer picture of the circumstances .[85] Nevertheless, 'homeworkers pay is very low and is usually substantially less than rates for comparable factory and office work. In a Low Pay Unit Survey in 1982, a third of the traditional homeworkers earned less than 50p per hour and just over three quarters earned £1 or less. A research project in Wolverhampton in 1984 found that 48 out of 50 homeworkers interviewed received pay of £1/hour or less. Over 50% of the homeworkers who contacted the Greater Manchester Low Pay Unit during 1985 were paid less than £1.55/hour and over 25% less than 1.05 hour'.[86]

A further category of work, which is almost never highlighted by traditional industrial relation writers, is the one associated

with the employment of immigrants and generally people who work under the most difficult and hazardous conditions for very low pay and many times without a work permit. This type of employment also forms part of 'flexible' working practices. Here it is worth mentioning the significant contribution of the German Journalist Wallraff who conducted one of the best investigations of illicit work in W. Germany.[87] In his own words : 'it has been estimated that 200,000 Turks, Pakistanis, Yugoslavs and Greeks are illegally employed in the building industry alone ... The traders in souls often enjoy political protection and avoid punishment. The laws are very weak. Yet the German government hesitates to put a stop to these practices. In the building industry, since 1982, the leasing out of labour has been illegal. Those federal states governed by the Christian Democrats refuse to regard the illegal business as criminal. It's not only private construction companies who, often through a series of intermediary dealers, rely on subcontractors. The 'subs' also get a share of public contracts. In 1984, there were a number of police raids at the site of the new Dusseldorf State Parliament - several dealers in illegal workers were involved there'.

'Fifty illegally employed workers were arrested during an inspection at the construction site of the new Munich employment office. And the police are still unaware that contract workers were used in the construction of the extension to the army barracks in Hilden and for the new federal Ministry of Posts in Bonn-Bad Godesber.'[88] The problem is further accentuated because 'the unacceptable face of the Turk hides also the unacceptable face of

capitalism. The racism that defines him as inferior, fit only for dirty jobs and disposable, and locks him permanently into an under-class, is also that which hides from the public gaze the murkier doings of industry. And contracting out the shift work allows management itself to avert its face from its own seamy activities. That also saves it from the legal consequences of employing unregistered, uninsured workers and/or transgressing safety regulations - for these are the responsibility of the firm that hires out the labour. But since that labour is alien, foreign, and therefore rightless, the law does not want to know. Nor does the government, which wants the work - cheap, unorganized, invisible - but not the workers... A whole system of exploitation is thus erected on the back of the foreign worker, but racism keeps it from the light of day. It is the same racism, popular and institutional, that keeps the unions too from taking up the cause of foreign workers - and the contribution of the media and of politicians in making it popular keeps them forever foreign.'[89]

It is possible for this type of situation to further deteriorate, instead of getting better, because of the creation of the internal market in 1992. There are no institutional changes as yet, which will guarantee that the conditions of those workers at the bottom will get better.

These, the most dehumanising aspects of work, cannot be analysed by orthodox Industrial Relations 'theory' because they fall outside its traditional conceptual framework. They are not very different from the conditions first examined by Engels almost a

century ago : 'after visiting the slums of the metropolis one realises for the first time that these Londoners have been forced to sacrifice the best qualities of their human nature, to bring to pass all the marvels of civilisation which crowd their city; that a hundred powers which slumbered within them have remained inactive, have been suppressed in order that a few might be developed more fully and multiply through union with those of others. The very turmoil of the streets has something repulsive, something against which human nature rebels. The hundred and thousands of all classes and ranks crowding past each other, are they not all human beings with the same qualities and powers and with the same interest in being happy?'[91]

In fact, the system always depended upon the 'silent' participation of millions of people, while at the same time consistently failing to provide them with any reasonable sense of security and to guarantee their human dignity. In Britain, there are also instances of similar working patterns: 'In London, there are approximately 50,000 clothing industry workers, including homeworkers. In the East End alone, there are some 2,000 small workshops where working conditions are often appalling'.[92] In 1982 the staff of a small garment factory in Hackney (most were Turkish) took protest action over pay and working conditions. The employer dismissed the whole of the workforce and later did not allow them back in for negotiations. Although, in this case there was support from local community organisations and from Trade Unions, management did not compromise and after four weeks the strike was called off. Later on, the union arranged a meeting to discuss the strike. It

became apparent that the firm had 'managed to recruit other workers from the local Job Centre; several young unemployed people had been taken on'.[93] Also, the workers' legal rights were discussed. The most important issue was related to the fact that by law the employers had the right to sack any workers, because by striking they had broken their contract. It was also recognised that it is difficult to set up an effective union in places where people are employed off the books.

However, these employees which form part of the industrial relations network and who actively participate in the labour process, are nowhere to be found by a 'theory' which seeks only to describe forms and not the essence. Nevertheless, the informal economy to which all such employment belongs is a main part of the contemporary industrial society and in these terms, 'workers' participation' and 'industrial democracy' became concepts without relevance. For a substantial number of the workforce they do not exist and once again the labour market is further segmented not only in economic terms, but also on a moral, political and ideological ground. The extreme dualism of the labour market and of capital-labour relations is clearly illustrated by the fact that the state seeks to exploit the position of workers in the informal sectors and more generally of those at the bottom end of the economy. By doing so, the state legitimizes (because it actively takes part in the process) the functions of severe labour exploitation.[94] (see also Chapter 5 for a discussion of the informal economic sector and its social implications in the context of Greece).

The reality of the working experience consists of many different features. The practice of this particular variety of industrial relations is simply another means through which inequality is transformed into long-term (and never-ending) advantage of one group over another. As in so many other cases the facts are unequivocal, and yet the point is not simply to pronounce them but to seek to look beyond their appearance.

2.8 Conclusion

The complexity of reality in relation to the issue of industrial democracy is a reflection of the complex nature of modern society. Undoubtedly, the practice of industrial relations is not a linear process. There is nothing more 'objective' about it than the fact that it exists alongside other institutions in society. However, we should not confuse the concept of 'objectivity' with the act of gathering empirical data. In fact, if we take empirical material from different countries (and from different cases) at face-value, it would seem that industrial relations and workers' participation are things which do and do not exist at the same time. Such a judgement cannot lead anywhere least of all to a theoretical understanding of the process. This is the case for the inadequacy of Industrial Relations 'theory'. It seeks to make 'objective' theoretical evaluations out of 'subjective' empirical evidence. In fact, objective reality is not apparent in the presence of empirical evidence. Evidence is the result of wider and deeper societal processes that cannot be found by simply looking at the facts. Therefore, Industrial Relations 'theory', as we have argued before

is simply descriptive and as such it does not constitute 'theory' in any true sense.

On a second level of analysis, 'theories' of 'workers' participation' may be rather monocausal and parochial. They follow the traditional belief that participation is something good and what we have to do is find which is the better method and implement it. Or, they see labour-management relations as being developed on a non-conflictual basis, a 'theory' which excludes the possibility of capital-labour contradictions. Once again, these theories describe society with the occasional prescriptive features.

However, the concrete manifestations of relations at the place of work take many forms and, in a wider sense, complement each other. There cannot be a singular way of conducting industrial relations, simply because it is a product of human conflict, a product of struggle. The confusing picture emerging from an overview of the multiplicity of industrial relations systems does, at the same time, express the complementary nature of the systems. This is not due to their inherent similarities (because they have also quite important differences), but because they form part of the wider and more intrinsic societal processes of capital accumulation, social conflict and the development of complex systems of political and economic organization. These are the historical links which 'bring together' all the different and contrasting systems of industrial relations. Consequently, the productive process and the sociality that it entails are the major determinants for the theoretical explanation, and the practical manifestation, of industrial relations systems.

Finally, and because of the preceding discussion, there can be no ultimate and 'value-free' conceptualization of industrial relations practices. Institutional changes (which will be the result of societal pressures) may enhance the process of industrial democracy, or do the opposite. The power conflict in society will primarily define what will happen, after all an industry and a firm constitute in themselves political units, and as such they too reproduce the major contradictions of wider society.

Notes and References

1. Clegg, A.H. 1979. The changing system of Industrial Relations in Great Britain. Blackwell, p.1.

2. Hill, P.C. 1981. British Economic and Social History 1700-1975. Edward Arnold, p.24.

3. Ibid, p.25.

4. Marx, K. 1983. Capital Volume I. Lawrence and Wishart, p.165.

5. Lichtheim, G. 1983. A Short History of Socialism. Flamingo, p.105.

6. In fact, Comte and Spencer advocated in a more systematic way the similarity between a biological organism and society. They both identified the emergence of 'industrial society' and of large scale organization which create a new social order based on a more or less national organization of work and labour. Comte saw a gradual transformation of society from one which is based on spiritual and theological formations, to one where scientific points of view prevail. At the same time he did not see a radical transformation away from theological foundations, but simply a replacement of these by the 'ideology' (which once again brings stability and legitimation) of the industrial and scientific elite. Spencer, on the other hand, did not adhere so much to a moral and theological philosophical view of society. He linked social evolution more strongly to an organic view and identified that it is possible to see societies evolving at a different pace, with the more successful system prevailing Contemporary capitalist society for Spencer is a system of mutually dependent elements which are integrated within the context of capitalist division of labour and economic organization.

   However, although Durkheim's theory consists of organic and evolutionary elements, it is not so closely related to Comte and Spencer. He opposed their theories on the basis that they begin from the false assumption that evolution happens because of instinctive human nature. Instead, he proposes the idea of 'social facts'. These are external influences which are related to the everyday world of experience and which must be thorough analysed before social change can be evaluated. At the same time, these 'social facts' (reality) are not immediately recognised by individuals. Consequently, for Durkheim, social reality is highly complex (especially at its

later stages) and as society progresses the natural solidarity that existed in primitive times is replaced by 'organic solidarity'. Although, homogeneity has broken down, the whole of society finds a new balance because of large organizations and division of labour, which is articulated around the systems of social control and the law. Consequently, the division of labour functions as a regulatory mechanism where the whole system is based on cooperation and not conflict.

7. Clegg, S. and Dunkerley, D. 1984. Organization, Class and Control. RKP p.171.

8. Ibid, p. 172.

9. Parsons, T. 1960. Structure and Process in Modern Societies. Chicago Free Press.

10. Weber, M. 1947. The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation. Free Press, pp. 246-247.

11. Hobsbawn, J.E. 1987. The Age of Empire 1875-1914. Cardinal, p.85.

12. Giddens, A and Held, D. (eds) 1988. Classes, Power and Conflict, Macmillan, p. 295.

13. Doray, B. 1988. From Taylorism to Fordism. Free Association Books, p.17.

14. Ibid, p.9.

15. See, for example, Lupton, T. 1971. Management and the social sciences. Penguin.

16. For more information see, for example, Pugh, S.D. et al, 1984. Writers on Organizations. Penguin.

17. Cited in Hyman, R. 1989. The Political Economy of Industrial Relations, Macmillan p.124.

18. A term probably coined by Beatrice Potter (1891) to distinguish between negotiations through authorized representatives and individual exchange.

19. Bean, R. 1985. Comparative Industrial Relations. Croom Helm, p.5.

20. Ibid, pp. 115-116.

21. Ibid, p.116.

22. Hall, S. and Jacques, M. (eds) 1983. The Politics of Thatcherism. Lawrence and Wishart, p.183.

23. Bullock Committee 1975. Report on Industrial Democracy, London, HMSO (cmnd 6706).

24. Poole, M. 1978. Workers' Participation in Industry. RKP, p.ix.

25. Bullock Report, 1975, p.24.

26. Ibid, p.25.

27. OECD, 1974. Work in a Changing Industrial Society. Paris.

28. Servais, M.J. 1986. 'Flexibility and Rigidity in international labor standards'. International Labour Review. Vol. 125, No. 2 p.194.

29. Bean R. 1985, p.159.

30. Herding, R. 1972. Job Control and Union Structure. Rotterdam University Press, p.330.

31. Jonssen, P. and Kissler, L. 1987. 'Organization of Work by Participation? A French-German Comparison'. Economic and Industrial Democracy. Vol. 8, No.3 p.391.

32. Bean, R. 1985, p.162.

33. Ibid, p.179.

34. Commission of the European Communities, 1988, Social Europe : the social dimension of the internal market, Luxembourg.

35. Labour Research, 1989. 'Workers' rights - Europe sets the pace'. Vol. 78, No.7, pp. 10-12.

36. Jim Conway Memorial Foundation, 1988, Trade Union Report, Vol. 9, No.5, pp.21-22.

37. The Economist. 1989. 'Europe's Internal Market Survey', 8-14 July, p.49.

38. The Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act of 1987 is an example which represented a 'serious attack not only on their collective agreements and bargaining arrangements, but also on their democratic rights' - Labour Research, 1988, Undermining Collective bargaining, Vol. 77. No.2 pp.18-19.

39. Guardian, September 6 1989 p.6.

40. Guest, ED, 1986. 'Workers' Participation and personnel policy in the United Kingdom: some case studies'. International Labour Review Vol. 125, No.6, p.688.

41. Millward N. and Stevens, M. 1986. British Workplace Industrial Relations 1980-84. Gower.

42. Ibid, p.138.

43. Ibid, p.141.

44. Ibid, p.141.

45. IDS/PA European Report 303 : 8 December 1987, p.5.

46. Ibid, p.5.

47. Afouxenidis, A. 1985. Participation of workers in industry, Final Year Dissertation, University of Newcastle Upon Tyne.

48. Commission of the European Committees, 1987 Report on Social Developments, Brussels, Chapter 4, p.31.

49. IDS/PA European Report 278, November 1986.

50. Bean R, 1985, p.164.

51. Report on Social Developments, 1987, Chapter 4, p.31.

52. Ibid, p.32.

53. European Economy, 1986 Results of a Survey in Labour Market Flexibility. No.27, p.21.

54. Ibid, p.17.

55. Gaudier, M. 1988. 'Workers' Participation within the new industrial order : A review of literature'. Labour and Society. Vol. 13, No.3, pp.313-332.

56. Nichols, T. 1980. Capital and Labour. Fontana, p.382.

57. Ibid, p.382.

58. Ibid, p.383.

59. Financial Times, 5 June 1987.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Indeed, in France profit-sharing was introduced during the 1870's. Once again, the primary and explicit aim of profit-sharing was to ensure that wage-earners remained loyal to the company. It was also designed to overcome resistance and to do away with apathy. As Robert Charles (Bulletin de Participation, 1915, p.115) remarked, there was something about the system which moulded workers' mentalities without any apparent constraints and which turned them into something resembling small-holders ... The Bulletin de Participation for 1880 contains a report on a study of the use made of the sums of money redistributed by the Maison Redoubly Fifty-eight of the 140 workers interviewed said that they had invested the money, and twenty-two said that they had used it to help needy relatives ... Examples of participant workers who denounced lazy comrades or drunkards and who refused to have anything to do with them were also cited. The third and final objective was the most obvious of all : preventing strikes.' (Doray, B. 1988, pp.102-103).

63. Profit Related Pay - A consultative Document, 1986 HMSO Cmnd 9835, p.1.

64. Financial Times 11 May 1988.

65. Financial Times, 5 Jan 1988.

66. Financial Times Oct. 12 1988, p.15.

67. As we have noted before, pay-productivity schemes have been around for quite a long time. In Britain the Fawley Productivity Agreement in the 1960's is a classic example of such an arrangement. (Lupton, T. 1980 Management and the Social Sciences, Penguin). What was new about that system was not only the idea of ensuring that increases in pay are covered by relative increases in productivity, but also the whole philosophy of conducting industrial relations in a different way. Managers at Fawley 'took the initiative in proposing radical changes in working arrangements which cut across and threatened customary ways, in the certain knowledge that difficulties would arise, but with some confidence that they could anticipate at least some of the consequences'. (ibid pp. 70-71). Because of competition, labour costs had to be reduced and new working methods had to be established. 'In 1958 the consultant wrote a memorandum proposing that the management should make a sharp attack upon the problem of inefficient utilization of labour. He referred chiefly to excessive overtime ... it was proposed, for example, to redeploy craftsmen's mates and to upgrade some of them to craftsmen, to amalgamate the various unskilled and semi-skilled grades into one general labouring grade, by a process of attrition to reduce the working force gradually by a third, to cut out travelling and washing time, and to introduce a forty hour week'. (ibid p.72). At the same time managers were well aware 'of the need to generate at shop-floor level a conviction that changes were necessary, and a willingness to accept them in practice'. (ibid p.73). The whole process generated heated debates and arguments between management and the workforce, especially because at the beginning the former did not take account of the latter's wishes and aspirations. Eventually they were forced to take notice of the informal structure of organization which is intermediary between the unions and the men as individuals . (ibid p.74). The example (although it was judged to be successful) gives a clear indication that in order for any system to work there has to be an equal degree of commitment from all parties involved; in other words resolving industrial relations problems does not depend solely on the scheme used, but on how it is going to be implemented and on whether the process of participation will be enlarged and will be accepted by all. It also illustrates that a main determinant of such schemes is related to the principle of capital accumulation and profit.

68. Marx, K. 1981. Capital Vol. 3, Penguin, pp.996-997.

69. Dale, B and Barlow, E. 1987. 'Quality Circles : The View From Within'. Management Decision. Vol. 25, No. 4, p.5.

70. Russell, S. 1989. 'Quality Circles a broader perspective'. WRU Occasional Paper 43, p.2; see also, Department of Trade and Industry, National Quality Campaign, 1985, Quality Circles.

71. See, for example : Journal of Managerial Psychology, 1986. 'Understanding the Failure of Japanese Management Abroad'. Vol. 1, No. 1 pp. 19-24, where it is argued that it is very difficult to transfer such schemes from one culture to another because the requirements of each may be vastly different. Also, in a number of other studies, opposition to the scheme is shown to exist in a number of people within organisations ranging from top management to trade unions. (Dale, B and Barlow, E. 1987). At the same time enhancement of the process of participation is doubtful as the experience of Nissan indicates: '... Martin was given a further contract for a three month period, which further exempted him from basic employment rights ... When this period was finished another contract was drawn up for three months, he was told that he had not satisfied Nissan as to his worth. Before this contract ended he was sacked. During his night shift Martin's supervisor took him to one side and told him to leave the premises immediately. When he asked if he could wait at the plant for another three quarters of an hour till he could get a lift home at 7.30 am he was told he must leave at once or security guards would physically remove him. He walked home several miles that night, jobless. Martin contacted Nissan's personnel department to see why he had been dismissed. He was told it was for his bad attendance record (he took three days off work during that year because of a car accident) and because of a minor error he had made during his work on the production line ... he says that the atmosphere of fear within the plant was such that the word 'Union' was never mentioned' (Tyne and Wear County Association of Trades Councils, Nissan and Single Trade Union Agreements, pp.28-29).

72. Webb, S. 1989. 'Feedback'. Industrial Society Magazine. March, p.14.

73. Trade Union Report, 1988. 'Employee Involvement'. Vol. 9, No.5, p.15.

74. Ibid.

75. It is interesting to note that even the Civil Service has had application of the system in order to establish 'a work culture which has an openness to new ideas and possibilities, which supports flexibility rather than rigidity, which promotes creativity in staff and managers and which is responsive to its customers' needs (Shaw, D. 1985. 'Participation teamwork and practical learning in Civil Service'. WRU Occasional Paper 33, p.5).

76. Guest, D. 1986. 'Workers' Participation and personnel policy in the United Kingdom : Some case Studies'. International Labour Review. Vol. 125, No.6, pp.692-694.

77. Klotz, V. 1988. 'Staff Suggestion Schemes'. International Labour Review. Vol. 127, No.3, pp.335-353.

78. Financial Times, 18 October 1988.

79. In many cases, for example, employees may not participate in the various schemes proposed to them by management. The reasons for that sort of choice are not straight-forward, but they have something to do with an understanding by employees that participative procedures do not really better their working conditions - a feeling of hopelessness. In other instances, employees may regard the systems of participation as just another managerial trick for their subordination (see chapter 4 for the reaction of Greek workers). Although there are a lot of participative schemes, from a review 'of case studies we estimate that two-thirds of a workforce remain non-participators' and in other cases 'people go through the motions of participating without the substance. They show up at meetings but sit silently. By not speaking, they do not participate actively but then neither can they be accused of boycotting participative forums. In some organisations, attendance at such forums and membership are linked. Not showing up could be interpreted as disharmony with managerial goals or as not caring about one's responsibilities.' (Neumann, J. 1989. 'Why people don't participate when given the chance'. Industrial Participation. Spring, p.6.

80. Leadbeater, C. and Lloyd, J. 1987. In Search of Work, Penguin, p.25.

81. Martin, M. 1987. 'Reviewing the Options for Flexibility'. Personnel Management. June pp. 42-46.

82. Labour Research Department 1986. Part-time workers, LRD Publications.

83. Labour Flexibility in Britain, The 1987 ACAS Survey, p.11.

84. Ibid, p.11.

85. Afouxenidis, A and Psimmenos, I. 1989. 'Neo-conservatism and Industrial Relations'. EPISTIMONIKI SKEPSI. No.42, p.81.

86. Home-working in Birmingham, Birmingham City Council, September, 1988, p.34.

87. Wallraff, G. 1988. Lowest of the Low, Methuen.

88. Ibid, p.26.

89. Ibid, p.xiii.

90. In a recent article, (Guardian, 23 January 1989, 'Community whitewash') it was argued that as Europe moves into integration, the question of those at the bottom end of the scale becomes even more important and central to the whole debate of human rights. Thus, people are put into separate categories : 'the most privileged group are the citizens (people with permanent rights), followed by denizens (people with the legal status of a temporary nature) and, at the bottom, the helots, undocumented workers with no rights. The situation for this group is likely to get much worse under the increased labour flexibility that will come about after 1992'.

91. Engels, F. 1984. The Condition of the Working Class in England, Lawrence and Wishart, pp. 59-60.

92. Pearson, P. 1985. Twilight Robbery, Pluto Press, p.54.

93. Ibid, p.58.

94. For instance, Geshuny argues that there are three options for state policy in relation to the informal economy : to suppress it, ignore it or exploit it. In most cases, the third is the most preferential, especially when productivity is slowing down. In this case, low-wage work in the informal sector will be allowed to grow without any real interference from government. At the same time, he argued in favour of protection for full-time workers in the informal economy (Godfrey, M. 1980. Global Unemployment. Harvester Press, pp.209-210).

CHAPTER 3

INTRODUCTION TO GREEK SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The development of contemporary Greek society is an articulation of different social, economic and political factors.

However, the examination of all those elements that constitute modern Greece is an especially difficult task. Dependency, wars, dictatorships, social upheavals, revolution and civil war are just some of the events that characterise the Greek social formation (Table 1). The fact that all these historical parameters played an important role in shaping Greek society does not by itself constitute an adequate explanation. The problem of isolating the main factors and theorising the links between them remains an open one. On the one hand the Greek social formation is a typical example of a nation which had to develop under long-term political dependency that was crucial in shaping its social and economic organization. On the other, not all can be explained through the use of that factor alone. There are moments of Greek history, such as the civil war, which have to be evaluated in terms of the wider social implications and consequences that were created and which

1821-29	Greek War of Independence.
1870	George I appointed king.
1897	Greco-Turkish war not conclusive.
1909	Military league made coup d'etat in Athens.
1910	Venizelos became Prime Minister
1912	First Balkan War, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria attacked Turkey and drove Turks almost entirely out of Europe.
1913	George I assassinated. His son Constantine succeeded. Outbreak of Second Balkan War. Bulgaria fighting against Greece and Serbia over the division of the spoils in Macedonia.
1914	World War I. Britain annexed Cyprus.
1916	Elections return Venizelos with slight majority. Constantine refuses to accept him as Prime Minister. Venizelos set up insurrectionary government in Salonica.
1917	Venizelos returned to Athens. Constantine forced into exile, succeeded by his son Alexander.
1921	Greek offensive in Asia Minor.
1922	Turks threw back Greek armies in Asia Minor, Massacre in Smyrna
1923	Treaty of Lausanne made peace between Greece and Turkey. Greece gave up all claims to territory in Asia Minor.
1924	Greece became a republic.
1925	General Pangalos established a dictatorship.
1926	Pangalos overthrown, republic restored.
1928-33	Venizelos Prime Minister again.
1933-36	Two coup d'etat without success. General Metaxas acting Prime Minister and entrusted with dictatorial power with the support of King George II.
1939-41	World War II. Famine in Greece during winter 1941-42.
1942	Resistance organizations began to form in Greece, the main being EAM and its army ELAS.
1944	Outbreak of civil war with British supporting the Right. Churchill flies to Athens.
1945	Varkiza agreement ends civil war. Dissolution of ELAS. National guard takes control of provinces.
1946	Elections return royalist majority. Tsaldaris became Prime Minister.

Table 1: List of main events, 1821-1946

have lasted until today. Therefore, the reorganisation of the economy is not simply a matter of understanding the role of foreign involvement, but also of looking at how the internal social forces acted. The political dichotomies that resulted from the civil war onwards were very important factors that influenced future developments. The structuring of the economy and of the state and industry have been for a long time the major battlefield on which the main social and political forces came into conflict.

The formation of the Greek state (and of the public sector) has been traditionally one of the major grounds on which political confrontation took place. The role of the state is important in the whole configuration simply because it became an important factor of economic restructuring and through its actions the contemporary Greek political and social institutions were shaped. Consequently, there are two general categories which make the analysis a little more coherent - dependency and foreign involvement, and the role of the state. These have to be examined in relation to other major social events and to the wider position of Greece within the more general system of global social and economic integration. Finally, an understanding of those processes is also helpful in considering the context and implementation of industrial relations and workers participation in the Telecommunications sector, where it becomes obvious that the long-term problems of Greek society are reproduced within the industry (see Chapter 4).

3.2. Reviewing the history

During the last three decades, the Greek economic formation went through a relatively rapid process of industrialisation. This

particular process has been the cause for a variety of important social and political transformations which in turn influenced all levels of contemporary life in Greece.

In general terms, the dependent character of economic development has determined to a great extent the various processes of social organization. The apparent contradictions and peculiarities of the Greek social formation have all to do, as in many other countries, with the development of the production process and the nature of the forces of production. The structure and organization of the public sector is but one example of an incoherent and antithetical process which has had long-term effects. In order to fully appreciate the nature of these a brief examination of the historical past is an important asset.

One of the most predominant features of modern Greece is its weak and dependent economic structure, one which finds its basis on the state. In historical terms the state has been expanding and developing since the 19th century. It intervened in a more or less direct way in order to accelerate development while at the same time acting upon the interests of the national bourgeoisie by being directly controlled by the industrial and military complex.

In the immediate post-war years, the Left suffered a political defeat in the Greek Civil War. The Right and the armed forces with the help of the 'superpowers' (Great Britain and USA), imposed a quasi-democratic regime shared with the monarchy and the

industrialists. This kind of 'division of power' between the throne, parliament and the army did not provide for a successful system of administration. 'The fact that the officers who controlled the army were royalists did not, most emphatically, mean that the army was a mere instrument of the king', and therefore, 'the rise of Marshal Papagos whom King Paul did not trust, Papagos' enormous prestige among officers and his successful entrance into politics in 1952 through the creation of a popular right-wing movement (the Greek Rally) were indications of the army's autonomy from the crown'.[1] Although the system worked until the sixties, with the rapid social and economic transition that took place at the time, it could no longer sustain itself and became defective. With the implementation of the Marshall Plan in Europe, a qualitatively new stage of capitalist relations was introduced in the Greek social formation. The increasing accumulation of capital, the growth of the internal market and the speeding up of the formation of monopolies coupled with almost total control of the banking sector by the state are some of the economic features which determined the articulation of social and political relations.

In general, the post-war years were marked by an economic strategy which was, more or less, directly influenced by the second World War and the subsequent crisis which affected the social and political formations of the countries which participated in the war. One of the major economic propositions was related to the advancement of heavy industry in specific European locations and regions. At the first stage, this kind of inward-looking economy would have to be diversified so that the industrial sector could

generate its own demand. Later on, it would become more open in order to participate on more equal terms, in the international division of labour. Consequently, the blend of such a policy would be a degree of protectionism, and an emphasis on state control of industry and the development of indigenous technology.[2]

On the other hand, the model which eventually prevailed called for an open economy, integration into the world market and for the development of those sectors based on the theory of comparative advantage. Greece became an outward oriented industrial nation with foreign capital playing the vital role. At the same time, the state kept its grip on the main industries and moved the country into integration with the world capitalist market, thus connecting Western Europe with the East Mediterranean and the Middle East. But, although in the 1950's the Greek economy was reconstructed, its basic character remained much the same as before. The Construction and Energy sectors benefited and agricultural production increased,[3] whilst unemployment and underemployment prevailed with the consequence of emigration. During the 1960's there is an increase in foreign investment and exports became dominated by agricultural products while machinery and durable consumer goods account for imports. There is also an increase of the service sector and an enlargement of state-bureaucracy (Table 2). However, the trade deficit remained negative and showed no real signs of improvement and in the following years, economic changes such as the introduction of the new industrial nations (semi-peripheral countries), into the economic sphere, greatly affected the position

	1938	1963	1967	1971	1978	1979	1980
Agriculture	35.3	25.2	21.4	17.1	13.8	12.9	14.5
Industrial Sector	18.6	25.1	28.6	31.7	32.7	33.1	32.3
Services	38.4	47.4	48.0	48.9	51.0	51.5	51.1

Table 2 : GNP composition of the three main sectors

Source: Bank of Greece, 1981 (adapted)

of Greece. The Association Agreement with the EEC signed in 1961 and the subsequent full membership in 1981 have not improved the economic situation of Greece, and the prospect of the integrated market in 1992 is an essential factor to consider for the future. The state has remained heavily involved in the running of industry, but more importantly it is still dependent upon private capital and it has not managed to generate those forces which may be important in the improvement of the Greek economy.

3.3. The process of foreign dependency and the role of the state

There are three main elements which frame the picture of the contemporary Greek economic formation:

i) dependent character of development, resulting in a peculiar formation of the social relations of production;

ii) chronic problems of underdeveloped infrastructure and problems of bureaucratization;

iii) the specific position of the 'state' as a major component of industrialization.

The dependent character of Greek society has reproduced since the 19th century, those processes which in turn determined social, political and economic development (see below). The resulting characteristics are still affecting the productive process and its organisation : low growth, stagnation, high inflation and deficit,

destruction of local industry and unemployment. In other words, the perpetuation of 'underdeveloped development' has not encouraged growth for the national productive forces which would have led to a wider restructuring of Greek society. Mouzelis argues that 'towards the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Western imperialism took yet another and more aggressive form vis-a-vis Greece ... in the previous stage it had eliminated the attempts of indigenous capital to enter the sphere of production, now Western capital tried in a limited way to fulfil this function itself, but of course on terms not beneficial to the host economies. Thus Western capital ... contributed considerably ... to the disarticulation and further underdevelopment of these societies.'[4]

In the period preceding the 1900's we find the first evidence of foreign investment in Greece. The nature of Western capital could be mainly distinguished by its character : it was basically directed towards developing the mining and transportation industries while there was no real involvement in the manufacturing and industrial sector. In 1869, the Greek government, financed by the French, started work on the Corinth Canal between the Peloponnese and mainland Greece. By 1889, the French Bank which financed the project (Comptoir d'Escompte de Paris) had gone into liquidation due to the Panama Canal Problem. A year later a Greek company was set up to continue work which received support by another French loan. The Canal was opened three years later at a cost of 60 million golden francs, while the debt was never repaid and the company was finally bought by the National Bank of Greece.

In the same period (1863 onwards), English and Belgian

investors mainly in the form of banking capital developed an interest in building a railway system. Also, the British company Eastern Telegraph set up and exploited the first communications network. At the same time, the Bank of Athens was established due to French investment. Foreign borrowing also went up between the 1860's and the 1890's and it was mainly used to repay debt and to support the military budget. Lastly, in 1918, the first official loan by the USA administration was received, and was used for military purposes.[5]

Apart from the colonial characteristics of these loans, almost none of the foreign involvement induced the development of the manufacturing sector. The relative absence of productive capital for a prolonged period of time laid the basis for the reproduction of a particular kind of social and political relations which had long lasting effects even after Greece entered the period of industrialization in the 1960's (Table 3). By 1938, Greece owed almost 2.5 billion francs. More importantly, the situation continued after the Second World War with a total of 1 billion dollars loaned to Greece through the 'Marshall Plan' aid. At the same time, and this is crucial, political dependency meant that the various mechanisms of economic integration and the production relations which by now were set up, did not allow for the creation of an effective opposition to the established system.

The process of foreign dependency can be isolated into two elementary levels : the economic and the socio-political. The former articulates a variety of factors which are related to capitalist development during the 19th and 20th century and its effect upon Greece. It is also related to internal factors, such as

the agrarian processes of Greece and its specific conditions on the one hand, and the development of commodity production on the other.

There are also other economic phenomena which may be distinguished and which characterise Greek development and which are related to the infusion of capitalist production relations. The whole disarticulated structure, which nevertheless served the purposes of capital accumulation with its inherent contradictions,

Sector	1938	1951	1961	1971	1980	1985[1]
Primary	53.7	56.1	53.3	40.3	30.6	28
Secondary	15.8	16.3	18.8	25.4	30.8	26
Tertiary	30.3	27.4	27.7	34.3	38.6	47

Table 3 : Percentage share of employment by sector, 1938-1985

Source: Samaras, G. 1985, State and Capital in Greece, p.42

(1) numbers for 1985 from Eurostat, Europe in Figures, 1987.

such as a fast industrialization process but a weak manufacturing sector, the concentration of power in the state-controlled mechanisms (public sector, banks and the administrative bureaucracy) and the destruction of the agricultural sector is a more or less familiar process which can be found in the development of many similar societies.[5]

But, the character of any society also involves the level of social and political relations. The explanatory form of an analysis of the process of dependency constitutes a whole range of other contemporary phenomena which, although closely linked to 'the economic', have certain particular characteristics of their own. To simply describe an economic process of dependency is to miss out on the configurations which that process has created, thus accepting those in a reductionist causal sense. For example, the mechanism of dependency is expressed in the post-war agreement between Greece and the USA where the latter would have to make the final decision on any economic issues ('Truman Doctrine'). Such arrangements created a whole network of socio-political relations, since basic elements of the democratic process were 'repressed' for a prolonged period of time. The definitive aspect of foreign involvement in the Greek social formation is not only linked to the reproduction of capitalist economic relations, but also to the way it acted upon societal relations : in this case, it 'deformed' the possibilities of resistance from the social structure as a whole.

Therefore, in comparison to many other countries the situation is far worse in major areas of the Greek economy. External debt repayments peaked at about 20% of GNP, and the balance of payments record continued to deteriorate (Table 4). At the same time foreign

involvement in the form of multinational capital has taken over a multiplicity of Greek industries and has a strong influence in the development of others (Table 5).

Although the public sector controls an important part of the national economy, it is unable to bring about progress. This is not only due to its weak economic level and infrastructure but also due to the bureaucratic way it functions as a whole, distorting any capacity the system could generate for development. It is here that the phenomenon exceeds the pure 'economic' and moves into the domain of the 'socio-political' and of a specific 'culture' established since the formation of the Greek state. The state and the bureaucratic public sector continue to function not only as the basis of satisfying the regime of accumulation, but mostly act as a mechanism which balances disparities between various social groupings and more importantly, as a means of controlling rapid and societal change and development. Therefore, the strengthening of the public sector has benefited a variety of strategically important, political and ideological choices. That extends to anything the state has been involved with, e.g. education, health, social security, defence etc.

The production and reproduction of a particular 'cultural' variety is related to the economic position of the people who became state-employees. After the destruction of the 1940's, a great majority of people went to the cities (especially Athens) and as a consequence considerable numbers found work in the public sector. In social and political terms this meant that the relationship between 'state-employer' and 'state-employee' was, in many cases,

	Current Account balance ($billion)			
	1980	1983	1984	1985
Greece	-2.2	-1.9	-2.1	-2.9
Ireland	-1.7	-1.1	-0.9	-0.5
Portugal	-1.3	-1.5	-0.5	-0.2
Spain	-5.1	-2.5	+2.0	+2.3
Turkey	-3.5	-1.8	-1.4	-1.0
Yugoslavia	-2.3	+0.3	+1.2	+0.6

Table 4: Balance of payments record, 1980-85

Source: OECD, Economic Survey 1985-86, p.69

[1]Drink/Food Products	:	COCA COLA, PEPSI, SUPER MARKET CHAINS
[2]Chemical Industry	:	HOECHST HELLAS, SANDOZ, COOPER MELUM and others
[3]Electrical Industry	:	FULLGOR, SIEMENS, ITT, PHILIPS, AEG-TELEFUNKEN
[4]Car/Automobile Sector	:	BIAMAX, BOEING, TOYOTA, STAYER
[5]Oil/Coal	:	MOBIL, BP, SHELL and Greek subsidiaries
Insurance Sector	:	INTERAMERICAN, LLOYDS
[6]Public Sector	:	No exact information available

Table 5 : Multinational capital in Greek industry

Source : adopted from various sources

NOTES :

1. Overall there are about 22 foreign companies amalgamated.
2. 50% of Greek chemical sector controlled by foreign capital
3. See chapter 4.
4. Most of those are involved with Greek capital, i.e. BIAMAX: Greek-Swiss-German consortium, STAYER: German-Austrian but was nationalised.
5. Participation of foreign capital in this sector is approximately 60% French-European, 13% USA, 22% various and 5% Japanese.
6. There is no exact data available due to the fact that they are not made public. We can only speculate by comparing debt of nationalised sector and loans. See also chapter 4.

accompanied by a whole network of ideological manipulation that tended to form client relations within the state sectors. In these terms, the parameters which explain the workings of the system cannot only be isolated in terms of 'productivity' and 'investment', but are strongly linked to traditional institutional deformities.

Therefore, the bureaucratic tendencies of the modern Greek state have almost been a result of particular political choices by governments. These, in turn, helped to bring about a peculiar type of social order where the employee, irrespective of background, education etc. belongs to a 'class' of people who in one way or another are 'owned' by the state but at the same time 'owe' their livelihood to it. Consequently, subordination of labour does not take solely the form of 'surplus value' expropriation, or of other more direct forms of political suppression. Instead, a strange variety of social cohesion ('consensus') is created, where the 'hegemony' of the state and the way it functions are not challenged to the extent that could bring about changes to the dominant relations. In political terms, this has been translated by the inability and unwillingness of all political parties to seriously restructure the public sector.

The role of the state in this respect has very important implications for the development of modern Greece. The relative 'stability' of the state formation over a number of years and the fact that it has not progressed very much, is a reflection of the nature of its position in society. Even after the restoration of democracy in 1974, the state remained relatively unchallenged. A similar variety of wage and labour relations techniques were followed by the post-junta governments and there has been slow

progress towards a, more or less, different kind of organizational culture. Industrial organization still depended upon choices made by government, and the state tightened its grip on the public sector. This almost normal reproduction of the dominant political system is perpetuated across the board and instances are to be found in the organization of public services, industry, political parties and other societal institutions. These 'instances' are not strictly the results of foreign involvement and dependency, but were also determined by internal political choices.

Political parties, for example, have shown for a number of years their hierarchic and 'populistic' nature, promoting the 'cult' of a leader figure (a national saviour) who will resolve everything for everyone. A prime example of this, is the electoralist strategy of PASOK when it came to power in 1981 and afterwards. Instead of making a sincere political choice in relation to national development, it consciously reproduced the idea that 'business, large and small, farmers, bureaucrats, shopkeepers, factory workers, exporters and importers - everyone, or almost everyone, got something even if some got more than others'.[7] That led to exactly the opposite effects with a seriously deteriorating economic situation and a worsening of real incomes. It also had the effect of creating (on the already established system) a new way of conducting political affairs which jeopardized the strengthening of the democratic process.[8]

In general terms, the analysis of the Greek social formation can be facilitated through the identification of different sets of issues which relate to the economic and the socio-political

conjuncture. Economic dependency and participation on the international framework brought about industrialization, but of a generally speaking, distorted kind. Also, from a historical and sociological point of view the underlying forces which pushed for significant changes across society were not allowed to dominate and that had an impact on the development of the institutions of society.

3.3.1 The location of Industrial Relations in the existing framework

As we have seen the impact of U.S. involvement in the post-war years played a crucial role in establishing (and/or restructuring) parts of the modern Greek formation. However, the long-term problems of the Greek economy were, even as early as 1947, noticed by the American administration:

'Greece is the strangest country in the world. It is the only country where destruction of material goods continues while all other countries are being rebuilt. It is the only one which has special war expenditures in time of peace. It is the only one which can not pay the salaries of its employees yet daily appoints new ones. The only country where the weight of the damage done has been thrown on the already exhausted shoulders of those financially poor while the economic oligarchy remains unburdened. The only land which is not conscious of its problems nor does it think of them. The only country in Europe which shows a purely colonial graduation so that an abyss divides the great mass of the people from a privileged

minority. The only country where everything is done without a program and where the common interest is not taken into consideration.'[9]

And later as in 1951, the picture according to the Americans was as follows:

'An honest and informed evaluation of our past policies leads unavoidably to the conclusion that their virtues are largely negative. We stopped communism. But we have nothing viable in its place. We gave much aid to Greece. But very little of it trickled down to the Greeks who need it most. We paid for expensive investments. But the closer we look at those investments, the less sense they seem to make; the more we think about them, the less real benefit they seem to promise for Greece's future. We restored order. But that order is protected by a succession of weak governments, unpopular, distrusted, and riddled with corruption. We produced recovery, on paper. But Greece still shows no sign of closing her dollar gap, still does not export in anything like prewar proportions, still does not have any perceptible prospects of supporting herself in the future. We built roads; they soon will fall apart. We raised wages; prices went up as fast. We gave ships; their earnings don't come back to Greece.'[10]

From the above two evaluations of the situation in the post-war years two thinks are striking: first, the almost absolute dependency of Greece upon U.S. and second, the fact that the Americans had problems amongst themselves in deciding how to

implement economic policy in Greece and the fact that their policies were not proving successful. In fact, there is a wide disparity between the type of economy the Americans wanted to establish in Greece and how it actually turned out. However, with the advent of a more aggressive foreign policy by the USA in the 1950's, the plan of economic restructuring changed accordingly in Greece: expenditure and investment was not translated in terms of developing the military sector not only in Greece but also throughout Western Europe. Consequently, that type of political choice was also influential in not changing the already traditional and dominant social relations. The Greek economy remained in a state of 'relative passivity' and the state did not change its basic policies and practices.

At the same time, the industrial sector in the first part of the 1950's was characterised by low growth and investment and very low wages. In this sense, 'industrial relations' as it is now known was non-existent. The level of wages was most of the time arbitrarily decided by employers who in some cases contravened relevant governmental policies. This is also a very important factor in the development of labour relations as a whole: the absence of a strong Trade Union Movement in the post-war years (because of the Left's defeat in the civil war and of subsequent political persecutions), and the fact that labour was subordinated through various means, meant that a system of industrial and labour relations did not really have time to develop. Therefore, any evaluation of the current state of Greek labour relations has to take into consideration the fact that it was only after 1974 that the labour movement started to play again its part in the Greek social formation.

The civil war has also left its mark in social and political affairs. In political and ideological terms it meant national sorrow and hate. The extreme disparities and differences that it created are still evident. It also meant political persecution in the years following the civil war and until 1974, for a great number of people. In political terms, the war had to be won by the forces of the Right, and in this sense, the intervention of the British forces and later of the U.S.A. is 'justified' because 'the northern frontier of Greece has come to be a part of the line separating Russia from the West... Neither the United States nor Great Britain is willing to accede passively to such an increase in Russian power. It is for this reason that the British ... used their troops to combat EAM. It is largely for the same reason that Britain and the United States have hoped for economic and political stabilization in Greece, and have sent such large amounts of relief supplies to that country.'[11]

In economic terms, it meant further deprivation and poverty for the majority of people. It also meant that many people moved into the city with the subsequent geographical and spatial problems that this sort of migration creates. It did not only mean that the country was desolated, but as we have seen it created problems of employment which the state had to resolve. Unemployment in the cities (estimated in 1949 to be around 30%) and underemployment increased dramatically and the remaining populations of the country also had to depend upon the state for some form of support. The ideological and social consequences of that situation did not stop in the later years of Greek development. The state continued to

play the role of the main employer with the consequences we described earlier. These effects are all the more apparent in the case of Athens where employment in the public sector is quite high and ranges between 25-30%. If to that we add the present population of Athens (around 40% of total), and the fact that the city is the major political, economic and administrative centre, it becomes evident that the nature of the problem is a highly complex one.

Consequently, contemporary Greek society is the product of a multiplicity of social, political and economic factors some of which were depicted above. The major parameters of its development have undoubtedly been related to the role of foreign political and economic involvement, the choices of the dominant national social groups and the formation of the state and industry.

The processes that helped to shape the framework of Greek development are not however mono-causal. For example, the role of the state as part of Greek society cannot be depicted only in purely economic terms; the formation and further development of the state is chiefly characterized by its implications for the 'social' domain. Although, on the one hand the state developed on, more or less, traditional Western lines, on the other it reproduced the already existing 'pre-industrial' type of production. In that sense, the state became both a major component of industrialization and economic development, and a part of society which put brakes onto that development. Therefore, the wider relationship between state and society is of a very distinctive kind.

On a second level of analysis, the impact of foreign capital has also been important. In this area the state also played a part. In fact its part has been so important that we may be able to speak of a state being run as a 'subsidiary' of private capital (national and international), in other words, a sort of 'privatized state'. That is also one of the major reasons why the state has been for so long at the centre of political life and debate. At the same time, multinational investment in various parts of industry does not, in itself, constitute anything different from what has happened in other 'semi-periphery' countries. However, the links between the public sector and multinationals have to be more closely examined, since the relations that have developed over the years leave the question of state intervention and to which direction, unanswered. In some cases, the 'dependent' nature of the Greek economy becomes an interesting point, in relation to whether 'dependency' and relatively low economic development were imported from abroad (i.e. caused by foreign intervention), or whether they were also the result of conscious political choices decided upon by the national 'ruling class'.

Therefore, the issues of 'dependency' and the role of the state are dominant in any discussion of the Greek social formation. However, there are two final points which have to be taken into consideration.

The first is related to the problem of labour subordination and as a consequence of the network of industrial relations. The forms that labour subordination took are closely linked to political and

social developments. The resulting effects of the civil war for unionization are obvious. The dominant position of the state as the ultimate decision-making body has also been shown. In that sense, it is not surprising that a system of labour relations which will adequately correspond to contemporary practices in other countries does not yet exist. In fact 'industrial relations' is a relatively new term in the Greek industrial context. In 1983, the PASOK government instigated Law 1365/83 which was supposed to be the first major step towards the 'socialization' of the main public sector industries (the term 'socialization' meant according to definitions of the time, that industries would, through workers' participation, belong to the 'social' domain - not to the state - in the sense that employees would be able to take part in the decision-making process).

However, because of the characteristics of the state formation which we discussed earlier, the new regulations were never put into real practice. As in the immediate post-war years, the state kept its interventionary role, both in the areas of industrial relations and wage negotiations, as well as tightening its grip on the whole of the economic infrastructure of the public sector by making the decision-making process all the more centralized.

The second final consideration, related to the first and also to the whole issue of Greek development, is crystallized in the notion of the internal dynamics which push for change. It cannot be doubted that Greek society has drastically changed over the past 10-15 years. The fact that it moved from military rule towards the

establishment of a democratic culture since 1974 is in itself a dramatic change, (as is the fact that the majority of the population rejects the 'monarchy'). At the same time there are instances of despotic and 'client' types of relations, incorporated into the system which come into conflict with the more or less, normal functions of a democracy. However, these instances remain just that and cannot become theoretically valuable tools that will help to evaluate the state of current Greece. Contrary to many commentators (e.g. Mouzelis, 1987), client relations should be examined not as the dominant relations, but as part of the wider network of the social, ideological and political articulation.

The main social forces and their coming into confrontation over a variety of political issues, also helped to shape the contemporary social formation. In relation to the process of industrial development per se, these changes have been disproportionate. The electoral changes of 1989 and proportional representation came after many years of campaign by the forces of the Left and resulted in a Right-Left interim coalition government in the summer of 1989[12] and the subsequent formation of the coalition government by all political parties after the second elections of November 1989.

Consequently, the same social groups that have taken part in the establishment of a particular regime over the past few years, have now embarked on a different course of political practice. After all the main characteristics of all major political parties have not changed very much over the years. And the coalition government was the result not of radical political reforms in an environment of

social upheaval, but of rapid changes occurring within the ranks of those political organizations which only a few years ago disagreed heavily on any major issue. More importantly, the new political configuration was supported by the majority of the population (with the exception of extreme groupings in the ranks of all parties). In other words, the dynamics for change always exist and are not necessarily strictly determined by the current expressions of the dominant social formation. This particular issue is of more general sociological validity in relation to how changes in social systems have been evaluated until now by social theory. Nevertheless, the process of isolating and identifying the elements that characterize such social occurrences is becoming all the more complex and is resisting any attempts to create 'ideal-type' theoretical evaluations.

3.4 The Greek Public Sector and Employment

The story of Greek development highlights many of the aspects of capitalist integration, and the shaping of social, political and economic structures. The continuous trend of dependency has induced a permanently low degree of industrial development and a weak manufacturing sector. At the same time, the traditional role of state intervention has not been influential enough as to create the basis for economic progress. The state is directly involved, through the public sector, (the public sector controls almost 100% of production and distribution of electrical energy and the telecommunications industry, 65% of transport, 35 to 40% of other industry and parts of the banking sector, tourism and other

services) with major parts of the national economic infrastructure. However, due to the specific position of the state in the economic and political domain, Greece has not managed to develop adequately most parts of its industry. There has been insufficient adaptation of the production structure to the new international economic conditions,[13] both from the point of view of economic policy, and due to the fact that the state did not undertake those institutional changes which are important under the present climate. Also, within those branches of industry where Greek capital has had a small involvement, multinational capital stepped in to continue the production activity with the result of new industries being unable to develop through an independent internal process.

In contemporary Greece, the public sector ranges from electricity and transport, to insurance and tourism. Public expenditure (Tables 6,7) is quite high and compares with other industrialised nations and it is slightly higher than the EEC average. But, the infrastructure of the nationalised industries does not compare favourably with other industrial nations. Expenditure is wasted and does not improve qualitative targets. In that sense, the level of investment for the public sector does not correspond to its productivity. Also, the balance of payments deficit and the level of inflation create further problems for the public sector, since most nationalised industries borrow in order to repay previous loans.[14] In 1989, it was 'estimated that by the end of the year Greece's public sector debt will exceed 100 per cent of the gross domestic product,' and 'according to a Bank of Greece report, inflation could go to 18 per cent (from 14 per cent).'[15]

	1984	1985
Greece	52.7	58.4
U.K.	47.8	-
France	52.7	52.4
Italy	57.4	58.4
W.Germany	48.0	47.2
U.S.A.	35.8	36.7
E.E.C.	51.0	52.5

Table 6: Public Expenditure as a percentage of GNP

Source: OECD, Economic Outlook, 1987.

	1981	1984	1985	1986
Energy/Waterworks	24.2%	30.0%	32.5%	26.5%
Telecommunications/Transport	39.5%	29.0%	30.0%	27.3%
Agriculture	8.7%	8.1%	7.6%	8.0%
Mining	6.1%	7.8%	7.7%	7.1%
Housing	2.9%	2.0%	2.2%	2.5%

Table 7: Public Expenditure in various sectors as percentage of total

Source: Magliveras, S. 1987. The Public sector of Greece and the Crisis, p. 163.

In the employment field, about 18 per cent of the population is working in the public sector and almost 65 per cent is employed in the administrative part of the sector (Tables 8, 9, 10).

	Male	Female	% of total in labour force.	Total
Agriculture, farming, fishing	569,800	456,200	28.5	1,026.000
Mining	21,800	2,300	0.7	24,000
Manufacturing	513,300	204,300	19.9	717,600
Electricity,gas,waterworks	30,600	4,900	1.0	35,600
Construction	233,900	1,200	6.5	235,200
Tourism, commerce	358,100	204,000	15.6	562,100
Transport, communications	214,600	22,900	6.6	237,500
Banks, insurance	87,100	51,900	3.9	139,000
Other	348,100	275,100	17.3	623,200
			100	

Table 8: Employment by categories of economic activity, 1986.

Source: ICAP, 1988.

	1975	1981	1985	1986	1987
Electricity	25,378	27,566	28,940	30,297	30,510
Telecommunications	24,935	31,681	30,000	29,595	30,195
Railways	12,496	13,231	14,324	15,119	14,505
Airways	6,579	8,725	11,534	11,977	12,282
Public Transport	2,594	13,103	15,066	14,213	13,865

Table 9: Employment in main nationalised industries

Source: DIMOSIOS TOMEAS, 39, 1988 and others.

Note: see also chapter 4 for a detailed account of the telecommunications industry employment policy.

	1971	1981	1984	1985
Total Employment	3,143,040	3,388,518	3,524,060	3,540,000
Total Employment in Public Sector	232,875	527,397	570,867	609,535
Percentage of employed in public sector	7.4	15.6	16.2	17.2

Table 10: Development of Public Sector Employment

Source: Magliveras, S. 1987, p.212.

The number of people employed in the public sector is comparable to other industrialised nations (Table 11) but the major issue is the relationship of employees with the functioning and the infrastructure of the various industries. Consequently, from the

	1975	1978	1979
USA	18	16.8	16.5
UK	21	21.4	21.5
France	13.7	14.2	-
W. Germany	13.9	14.5	14.7
Italy	13.4	14.2	14.3
Japan	6.5	6.5	6.5

Table 11: Percentage share of total employment in Public Sector.

Source: OECD, Employment in the Public Sector, 1982.

existing information the following points should be made:

a) the problem which characterises the public sector is closely linked to a long-standing tendency towards structural malfunctioning and irrational production methods.

b) the size and the infrastructure of the public sector is disproportionate to its level of finance; deficits have accelerated and there have been no real qualitative improvements.

c) the current employment share of the sector may not be very high, but there is a need for important institutional changes which will correspond to a wider restructuring of the public sector and which will include updated employment and industrial relations policies.

3.5 Conclusion

The history of Greek social and economic development remains, in many respects, open to evaluation in relation to its consequences.

There is no doubt that there are certain 'peculiarities' to the system of production relations which require further analysis. At the same time, it cannot be questioned that some particular characteristics of contemporary Greek development have been very influential in determining the complex network of social and political relations.

The fact that industrialization happened quite recently and the circumstances under which it occurred is one of the obvious characteristics that help to shape the picture. The process of dependency (with its own particular contradictions and peculiarities) has had a strong impact in the early stages of industrialization and immediately after the second world war. However, industrialization was not coupled with a more or less 'normal' process of capitalist development. The destruction of Greece after the war meant that the country had to be rebuilt almost from scratch. However, the social dimension had not been decided yet - the country remained at war due to the civil war and the political consequences were detrimental.

The establishment of the state during the 19th century and its development also had a significant effect on Greek social and economic relations. The position of the state and its links to all the major institutions of society, contributed to the creation of a particular type of social practices and production relations.

In many respects it is very difficult to compare Greek development with that of other Western European nations irrespective of whether these belong to the 'periphery' or not(see also chapter 5). Nevertheless, in general terms, Greece participated in the international division of labour and just like other countries that has had a substantial effect not only in the economy but also on the articulation of social relations as a whole. EEC membership has made those social and economic links stronger, although substantial parts of the economy and the public sector did not improve as a

result. In many respects, practices have not changed over the years, leaving the Greek economy in a state of deep crisis in the second part of the 1980's.

The chain of events, state-public sector-dependency-social and political problems - late industrialization and internationalization is important in considering the present pattern of labour relations. The reasons behind the current industrial relations issues (examined in chapter 4) are deeply rooted in the conditions which contributed to the current formation of Greek society.

Notes and References

1. Mouzelis, N. 1979. Modern Greece : Facets of Underdevelopment, Macmillan Press, p. 117.

2. Batsis, D. 1977. The Heavy Industry in Greece, Athens.

3. Shathakis, G. 1983 Industrial Development and the Regional Problem, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Newcastle Upon Tyne.

4. Mouzelis, N. 1979, p.29.

5. PROTI, June 1986, Series of articles on Greek foreign dependency.

6. For a more detailed discussion on the 'specificity' of Greek economic development see Mouzelis (1979), Samaras (1985), Vergopoulos (1975), Tsoukalas (1975), Stathakis (1983), where a variety of arguments are presented illustrating the differences of approach and the fact that the process of foreign dependency has, in one way or another, played a crucial role in the development of Greek society.

7. Petras, J. 1987, The Contradictions of Greek Socialism, New Left Review, 163, p.11.

8. This was very clearly illustrated by the 1988-89 financial scandal, involving the appropriation of millions of drachma by high-ranking officials and most public sector directors - see also Chapter 4.

9. Extract from the diary of a member of the Porter Mission printed in the newspaper ELEFTHERIA on 23 January 1947. Cited in Stathakis, G. 1989, The Industrial Question 1944-1953, Athens.

10. Memorandum by Tanenbaum on U.S. Policy in Greece November 7 1951. Special Representative to Europe. Country Files : Greece. Cited in Stathakis, G. 1989. E. Tanenbaum was sent from Washington to work out the policy of the final phase of the stabilization programme.

11. McNeill, H.W. 1947, The Greek Dilemma, Victor Gollancz, pp.228-229.

12. 'In June, New Democracy (Right) won 44 per cent of the vote, and 145 seats out of 300, driving the then Prime Minister,Andreas Papandreou, and his Socialist Movement (PASOK) into second place with 39 per cent of the vote and a total of 125 seats. The June deadlock was resolved when the Communist-led Coalition of the Left (13 per cent and 28 seats), under Harilaos Florakis, formed a temporary - and presumably unrepeatable - government alliance with New Democracy, with a conservative backbencher as premier and a mission to clean up scandals that had discredited Pasok ... The government achieved more than the indictment of Mr. Papandreou. It abolished the final discriminations against the losers in the civil war 40 years ago, reformed the judicial system, and introduced parliamentary scrutiny of important state appointments and contracts in the hope of reducing future corruption'. - The Independent, 4 November 1989.

13. OECD, Economic Survey 1982.

14. National Bank of Greece, Report on Greek Economy, April 1988.

15. Financial Times, 8 June, 1989.

CHAPTER 4

DEVELOPMENT, STRUCTURE, EVIDENCE AND EVALUATION : THE HELLENIC TELECOMMUNICATIONS ORGANIZATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The twentieth century has been the century of massive changes in the field of production and consumption. In no more than three decades the world has seen the rise of Silicon Valley, personal computers and robots manufacturing cars. And very soon we are going to witness 'computers too small to see yet more powerful than any machine today ... scientists have created ... semiconductor clusters of 100 to 10,000 atoms organised in a regular crystalline pattern. By 2020 hindsight may rate this breakthrough with the Nobel-winning invention of the transistor at Bell Labs 41 years ago'. [1] The domain of telecommunications has also seen new inventions involving the use of mobile cordless telephones, fibre-optics and satellite technology.

In terms of historicity, this kind of technological configuration and especially the rapidity of its development, encourages the appearance of sometimes acute social and economic problems. The restructuring of production leads to significant shifts in the structures and formations of society. In the previous chapters we presented a formulation of all the different aspects which influence societal mechanisms and which either alter and adapt those, or change them completely. If, in order to

analyse and elucidate society and its place in history, we need to expose the relationship between economy and society then a similar method must be followed in the analysis of a particular societal structure. Therefore 'workers participation' as a concept and as a specific formation is inseparable from the economic and social development of society. There can be no abstract conceptualization of 'participation' free of all social relations. At any given historical period the specific structure of 'workers' participation' is ultimately influenced by the character of the societal ideological and political framework to which it belongs. In this respect, the development of 'workers participation' in the Hellenic Telecommunications Organization is closely linked with the contemporary Greek social formation. The dependent character of it determined those particular processes which gave rise to the way the whole Telecommunications sector is functioning. From this point of view, there is nothing peculiar about the 'underdeveloped development' of the industry and the subsequent effects of this process on Capital-Labour relations and in the area of 'workers' participation' as we shall see later in the chapter.

On the other hand, in each and every process there are intrinsic contradictions mirrored in the systems and organizations created by individuals. Although, as we have argued, 'external conditions' are important factors, they are not the only determinant ones. There are 'internal' factors which are just as important in shaping any organizational structure. It is important to show that such factors also have the potential to affect change. On many occasions, Telecommunications employees have asked

questions about the nature of the industry and told stories about their experience in it. Their 'reality' is not a simple empirical fact from which one can make generalizations or find causal connections to other 'facts'. It is part of a wider process and should be seen inside the context of that process.

4.2. The Formal Composition of the Hellenic Telecommunications Organization

In 1830, the independent Greek state was formed. However, the subordination of its role to the already industrialized nations has, as in so many other cases, left its mark on most aspects of political, social and economic development.

The Hellenic Telecommunications Organization (HTO) is no exception and from 1859, when the first telegraph was set up between Athens and Piraeus, until this instant, it has followed a, by now almost repetitive, process of underdevelopment.

Officially, HTO was created in 1949 by the Greek state and took over all the telecommunications services in the country. The material published by the organization concerning its past history (Fig. 4.1) tells us that the newly formed HTO would take over the 'already existing telecommunications services previously run by the Ministry'.[2] Also, HTO had an agreement with CABLE and WIRELESS which expired in 1957, thus enabling the organization to take over the rest of the telecommunications system except those parts of it used for military purposes.

1859	Opening of the telegraph line between Athens and Piraeus
1892	Formal decision is taken to install telephones in Greece
1912	Up until this date there are no suburban telephone connections in the country.
1926	An agreement is signed with the 'New Antwerp Telephone and Electrical Works'. Later this company would belong to SIEMENS.
1930-1940	SIEMENS technology enters the telephone system in the form of suburban connections.
1949	HTO is formally created
1957	TELEX service is introduced. HTO takes over the services run by CABLE and WIRELESS.
1965	Automatic telephone exchange is introduced in some parts of the country.
1974-84	Construction of underwater wire connections and other radio-electronic connections which help communication in the area of the East Mediterranean.
1983	A law is passed for all nationalised industries transforming them into 'socialised' corporations and introducing a 'new era' of industrial relations and workers' participation.
1984	Greece becomes member of the European Telecommunication Satellite.

Fig. 4.1: Dates to remember in HTO's history

Source: HTO publications, 1988.

A number of drawbacks however are evident in the official account of events. We could not find more detailed official records which would help to clarify a few questions such as how the new organization was financed, since Greece was in total ruins after the Second World War and the Civil War. In similar cases, priority would be given to food production and some sort of basic reconstruction of the infrastructure. But, as we saw earlier[3] the Greek state was taking part in a specific economic and military process aided by the U.S. government.

Therefore, we turned our attention to what the American administration of that period had to say about the formation of HTO. At the National Archives in Washington D.C. we read from the U.S. Embassy files that the HTO was set up in order to :

> 'rationalise the service and to permit speedier and more efficient use of Marshall Plan Aid in the telecommunications field. The new arrangement places wire and wireless telecommunications ... under management of an autonomous organization completely freed from the cumbersome procedure characteristic of Greek government agencies. An exception was made only with regard to the international radio-telephone and radio telegraph facilities operated under a concession agreement by the CABLE and WIRELESS LTD. Provision exists, however, to merge these facilities in the new organization when the contract of the British company expires in 1957'.[4]

The same report states that the total aid amounted to 8 million dollars and describes the immediate objectives as follows:

(i) Install in Athens 2 urban automatic phone exchanges of total capacity of 6,000 subscribers and extend telephone network to provide for 3,000 additional subscribers.

(ii) Install 7 telephone exchanges for interurban communication and installation of high frequency carrier systems to provide for 48 high frequency channels.

(iii) Provide telephone facilities in Athens, Salonica, Patras and in two smaller provincial towns.

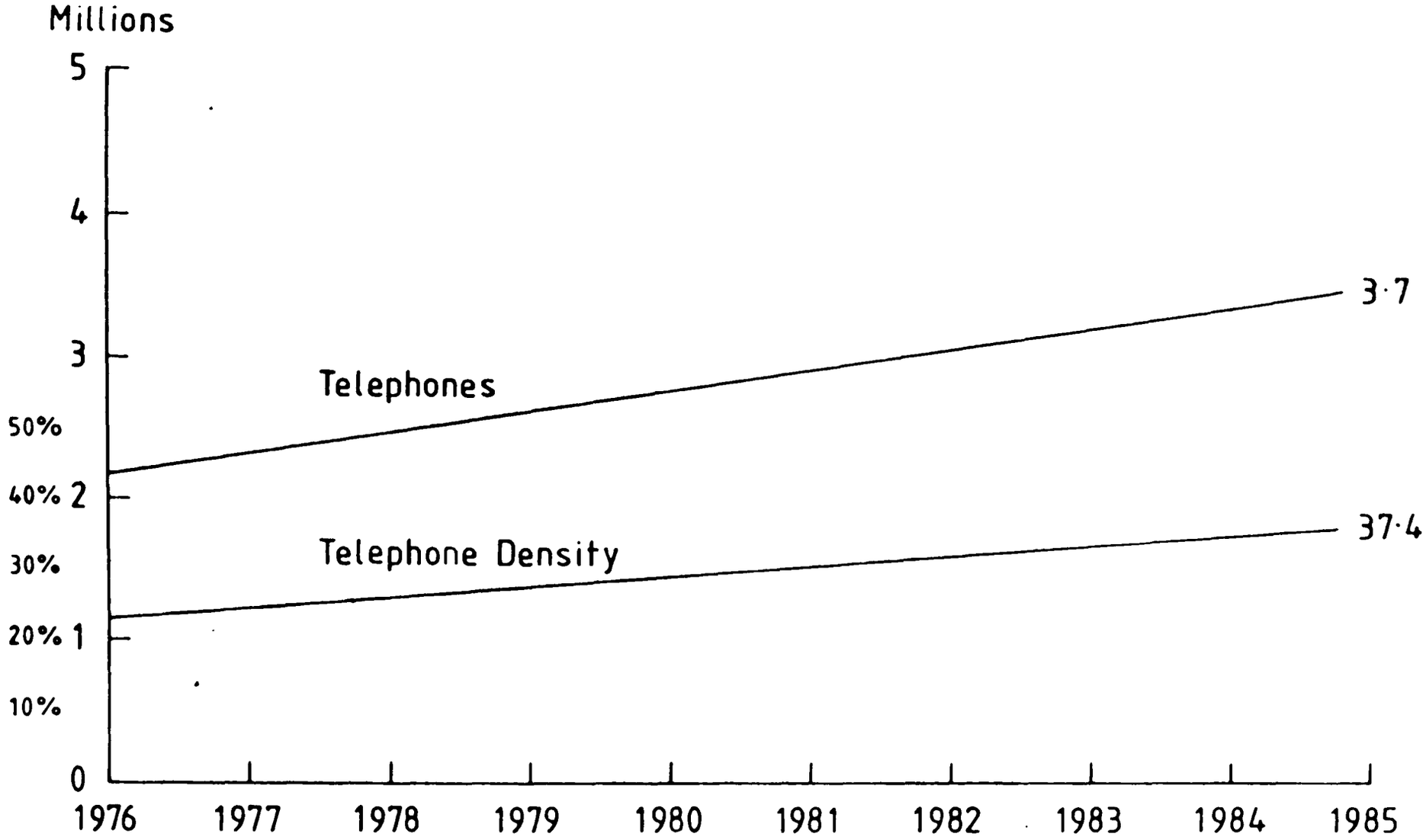
The report ends by saying that the first half of 1949-50 financial year had elapsed 'without any tangible progress being made in utilizing allocations approved for the current year for the acquisition of necessary telecommunications materials'. Finally another report from the same source reveals that 'during 1951 the program advanced with the construction of 7 new buildings to house local and toll telephone equipment. New pole lines were constructed and other lines reconstructed mostly for military purposes'.[5] In other words, the embodiment of HTO to the directions of American economic and military purposes is crucial because it determined the formation and development of the organization. The telecommunications industry, just like any other nationalised sector of the Greek economy, crystallizes a system of socio-economic relations which are expressed in the following three levels :

Firstly, on the actual relations of production. This is a general, but particularly important point which involves the factors of production but also places the industry in its actual economic context in terms of the wider capitalist 'environment'.

Secondly, and following from the above, we have the specific 'internal' relations developing between the industry and the state.

Thirdly, on the level of the industry itself, we have the relations between employees and management and other organisational characteristics which are formed within the industrial structure. The fundamental hypothesis behind the examination of HTO, is that the predetermining factor of its development process lies in the articulation of the three levels we have just described. That is, the conjuncture between the Greek social formation and dependency and also in the relations between the industry and the state and in the 'internal' relations. This point will be apparent throughout the course of this chapter.

In the immediate post-war years, HTO developed its activities in an attempt to modernise the telephone network and increase the telephone density throughout the country. Data limitations due to secrecy did not allow us to identify exact figures which would show the degree of American and other multinational involvement in that process. During 1949, telephone density was as low as 1% and by 1969 it was only 9.9%. In the next ten years it went up rapidly to 28% by 1979, but slows down in the 1980's reaching 37% in 1985 (Figure 4.2). Comparative evidence suggests that Greece finds herself somewhere in the middle in terms of how many people have immediate access to a telephone (Table 1).



Fiure 4.2: Number of telephones and telephone density

Source: Telecommunications Statistics in Greece, 1985.

Country	Year								
	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Greece	23.8	25.1	26.5	28.1	28.9	30.2	31.7	33.6	35.5
U.K.	38.8	41.5	44.7	47.7	49.7	51.1	51.7	52.4	-
U.S.A.	70.8	73.2	75.5	77.5	78.9	78.9	76.0	-	-
Japan	40.8	42.4	44.2	46.0	47.9	50.1	52.0	53.5	-
France	29.6	33.2	37.5	41.7	46.2	50.2	54.5	57.5	60.0
W.Germany	34.4	37.3	40.4	43.4	46.4	48.8	50.9	57.1	59.9
Switzerland	63.3	65.5	67.7	69.9	72.2	74.4	76.6	78.9	81.0
Turkey	2.8	3.2	3.6	3.9	4.3	4.7	5.2	5.5	6.4
Portugal	11.8	12.3	12.8	13.2	13.8	14.6	15.6	16.7	17.3
Argentina	8.9	9.0	9.1	9.2	9.3	9.8	11.2	10.4	-
India	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	-

Table 1: Telephone Density around the world

Source : Telecommunications Statistics in Greece, 1985.

Between 1949 and 1983 personnel employed in the organisation grew at a much faster rate than would normally be expected. In 1949, it was just over 5,000, but by 1969 that number had gone up to 17,500 employees. In the next ten years it rose at a rate of almost 1,000 per year reaching a peak in 1984 of about 30,500 people. From 1984 onwards it started moving slowly downwards at a rate of a few hundreds every year (Table 2).

The personnel number per se does not play such an important role in the development of the organisation although an employee suggested to us that 'HTO could be run more efficiently if its personnel was halved'. Such a comment created a series of questions on the actual recruitment policy followed by the organisation in terms of who is taken and for what purpose. Two trade unionists argued that there is no rationalized recruitment method. They explained that this was mainly due to the fact that yearly recruits are made on the basis of yearly retirements. In other words, the true needs of the organization are not properly considered. There is also a tendency to recruit a lot more workers during pre-election periods (Table 3).

Quite apart from the political implications of the policy of 'rousfeti' ('buying' people in exchange for votes or for other reasons) which has been at the centre of Greek life for many years, there are other problems which concern the qualitative aspect of the telecommunications sector. In which areas are people employed? In which positions are first recruits placed and why? An HTO Trade

Table 2 : HTO Personnel 1949-1987

Year	Personnel
1949	5,140
1959	7,506
1969	17,628
1979	28,818
1980	30,236
1983	30,905
1985	30,571
1987	29,444

Source: HTO Publications 1988.

Table 3 : HTO recruitment of temporary personnel, 1977-1985

Year	Recruitment	
1977	589	(General elections)
1978	281	
1979	91	
1980	456	
1981	1,643	(General elections)
1982	201	
1983	332	
1984	161	
1985	809	(General elections)

Source: Trade Union Publications, 1986

Union Report arguing against the organization's recruitment policy emphasizes that 'in 1985 only 10,300 employees, out of a total of 30,571, were recruited on the basis of their qualifications. Two-thirds of personnel had been temporarily recruited and only became permanent later on'.[6] According to the Trade Unions, the right people often do not get the right job. Graduates, technicians and other professionals may do all sorts of menial tasks instead of being directly involved with work relevant to their qualified status and experience. For example, out of 1,650 university graduates during 1985, only 300-400 were doing work relevant to their field while the others were posted in areas such as director of enquiries and other similar services.[7] There also seemed to be a quite high and probably disproportionate to the organic needs of the industry, percentage of 'administrative' jobs. In 1985, the number of administrative staff was a little over 25% and the number of temporary and part-time employees reached 6.6% (Tables 4,5).

The relative inconsistency of HTO's employment policy is further illustrated once the relevant statistics are broken down to numbers of posts and numbers of employees. For example, in 1985 there were 110 positions available to Sub-Directors while their number was 115. A similar situation can be found in the area of middle management. At the same time, there were not enough people employed in positions which are essential in providing an adequate service to the consumer. (Table 6). There is also a wide discrepancy between male and female employees. Between 1976 and

Year	Administrative/ Operators	Finance	Technical	Special Tasks	General	Total
1976	4803	1436	12007	5559	1630	25476
1977	5208	1456	13285	5356	1653	27001
1978	5166	1449	13567	5232	1605	27138
1979	5331	1453	13745	5107	1685	27365
1950	5604	1502	15236	5086	1759	29369
1981	5775	1473	15577	4944	1844	29803
1982	5914	1415	15002	4549	2263	29338
1983	5813	1315	15039	4203	2226	28830
1984	7974	1323	15375	1356	2206	28426
1985	7745	1269	15774	1362	2242	28546

Table 4: HTO's Personnel, 1976-1985

Source: Telecommunication Statistics in Greece, 1985

NOTE: Figures do not include temporary workers (paid daily)
Part-timers, Data Processing Operators and various special status employees.

Temporary Workers

Year	Paid Monthly	Paid Daily	% of Total
1976	1084	207	4.8
1977	1404	191	5.5
1978	1417	190	5.6
1979	1219	232	5.0
1980	598	267	2.9
1981	1708	168	5.9
1980	1658	150	5.8
1983	1928	145	6.7
1984	2033	141	7.1
1985	1889	135	6.6

Table 5: HTO's Temporary Personnel, 1976-85

Source: Telecommunication Statistics in Greece, 1985

Job Description	1981 Posts/Personnel	1982 Posts/Personnel	1983 Posts/Personnel	1984 Posts/Personnel	1985 Posts/Personnel
Sub-Directors	110/99	110/104	110/105	110/110	110/115
Sub-section Management	463/715	463/690	513/663	513/709	513/605
Exchange Operators	2845/2627	2845/2423	2845/2280	1021/-	1021/-
Data Operators	230/214	230/208	230/206	34/-	34/-
Radio Operators	6/1	6/1	6/1	6/1	6/-
Secretarial Staff	493/374	493/352	493/332	342/331	342/327
Messengers	284/241	284/197	284/183	284/189	284/188
Watchmen	424/331	424/279	424/288	424/292	424/286

Table 6: Organic Posts and number of personnel, 1981-85

Source : selected figures from Telecommunications Statistics in Greece, 1985

NOTE : The Operators category was moved to the 'Administrative Department' in 1984 and we could not find the relevant figures.

1985 the numbers for the latter dropped by almost 3%, while male workers increased by 2.6% (Table 7). Figure 4.3 illustrates the distribution of employees between 1981-85, with respect to gender and job category.

So far our analysis has focused on the structure of the organisation in fairly general terms. We exposed the way it was set up by the American administration and with external aid and we have also shown the major characteristics of HTO's employment policy. These features are only part of the story : they are a proportion of a whole 'system' of disorganised malfunctioning. HTO is one of the largest establishments of the Greek nationalised sector. It comes first in the number of employees and only second (after the energy sector) in investments. However, by and large it is a relatively underdeveloped industry. By all accounts, some official and others collected during the employee survey, there is a lot more required in order to create a modern infrastructure capable of providing all sorts of services. An indication of the industry's state of affairs is illustrated by the following Trade Unionist's comment on this issue:

> 'They do not care about adequately funding HTO. The situation could be described as being tragic. Every day we have serious problems throughout the country. For example, if it rains heavily, the telephone network of whole areas may become 'silenced'.'

Table 7 : Male and female personnel (in thousands)

Year	Female	Male
1976	6.4	20.4
1977	6.5	22.1
1978	6.4	22.3
1979	6.3	22.5
1980	6.1	24.1
1981	6.0	25.7
1982	5.7	25.5
1983	5.6	25.3
1984	5.1	25.5
1985	4.9	25.7

Source: adopted from Telecommunication Statistics in Greece, 1985.

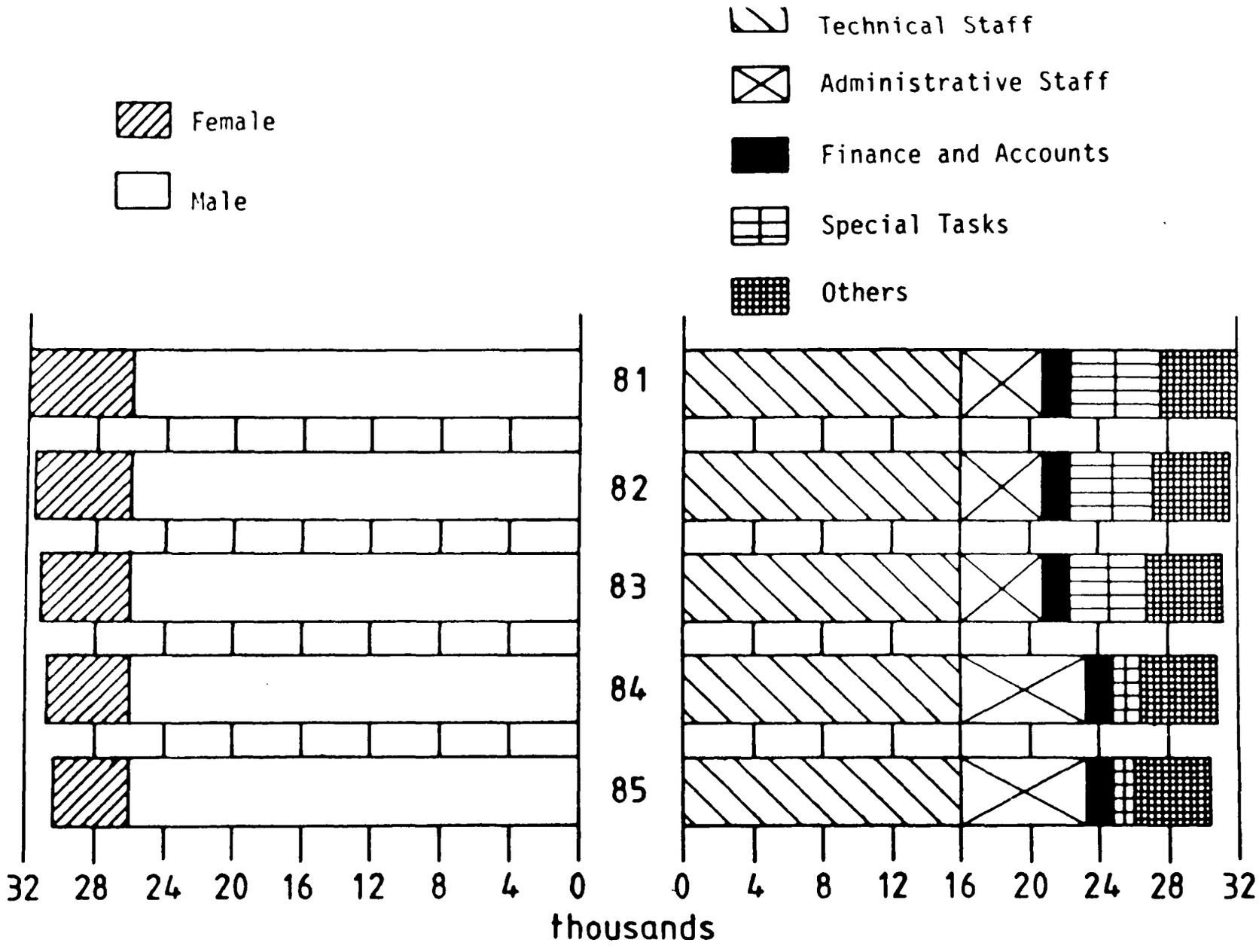


Figure 4.3: Personnel in 1985 according to type of job and gender

Source: HTO's Balance Sheet, 1986.

Several other employees and workers' representatives made explicit the facts about the situation:

> 'Every single day there are thousands of wrong numbers and crossed lines, especially in the Athens area where the infrastructure (switchboards etc) is simply not good enough'.
>
> 'We still work with a very old telephone network. Everybody else in the world is switching to digital systems, but we have technology which is 30 years old and very expensive to repair'.
>
> 'Nothing works in here. I have been employed here for almost 22 years. Nothing has changed, it's probably worse now than ever before'.

The very heart of the industry is affected and this is reflected in the whole service provided to consumers. As we have shown earlier, telephone density in Greece is around 37%. This number is not evenly distributed throughout the country. Official statistics for 1985 show that there are areas where the percentage is as low as 9%. Even in the larger area of Athens and the suburbs the percentages range between 31 and 54%.[8] An important issue in relation to this aspect is how many new telephones and telephone lines are installed in relation to demand. In 1986, applicants for new telephone lines reached a total of one million, whilst the estimated time for actual installation of a phone was just over four years. But latest evidence suggests a significant worsening of the situation. At the end of 1988, there were over 1.5 million applicants waiting for a telephone. Installation of equipment is very slow in relation to actual demand. In 1988, there were less than 230 thousand new telephones connected. In other words, if the rate of connections remains to present levels, by the year 2000 over 4 million people will not have a telephone. It was also made

known that the connection period exceeded, in some areas, the 4 year mark. In the Athens area it went up to 5 years in 1988, and in some northern parts of the country, it ranged between 6 and 20 years.[9]

The situation is very similar in any other basic services provided. Public telephone (coinboxes) facilities have remained very low between 1976 and 1985. There has been no significant increase of their density, nor have there been any efforts to modernize them (Table 8). There are also delays in providing home telephone repairs since the amount of faulty equipment is steadily rising. In 1987, for every 100 telephones, 60 had some sort of a problem, and it takes more than a day to repair over 50% of them. In the UK, 87% of repairs are finished within one day, while in France the number of faulty telephones was 26% in 1987.[10] Also, other normal services such as the Operator, and the Directory Enquiries, take a much longer time before connection. More specifically, the latter service has an average connection time of anything between 5 and 25 minutes, whereas in the UK it takes 15 seconds.

Consequently, each part of the industry's infrastructure is stagnant. Following on from that 'reality', is the fact that all kinds of 'relations' within its sectoral framework and also outside it, are involved in a continuous circle of economic and social regressions. To reiterate : the three main levels of analysis, which we described earlier (i.e. relations of production, 'internal' relations and industrial relations) are the most

	Athens Area		Regional Areas	
Year	Local	International	Local	International
1976	2004	211	1256	980
1977	2037	224	1214	1029
1978	2059	238	1299	1062
1979	1922	242	1416	1070
1980	1924	246	1494	1083
1981	1993	234	1560	1124
1982	2074	247	1591	1110
1983	2112	267	1584	1151
1984	2124	264	1689	1280
1985	2080	270	1724	1331

Table 8: Public Service Telephones, 1976-85

Source: Telecommunication Statistics in Greece, 1985.

important factors in determining the industry's inadequate development. We have been unable to find a specific and particular 'growth component', in order to make some kind of judgement as to whether the sector is actually undergoing a process of expansion and development. In terms of employee-management relations, this is an 'old' and rather traditional type of industry. There are elements of heavy centralization within the organisational structure per se which is a common feature of the Greek public sector formation. This 'centralization' will be made more clear as we proceed to look at industrial relations in detail later in the chapter. At the same time, the industry has undergone little change in terms of any kind of infrastructural component that we may suggest. For example, as we have just described, the industry has not changed very much in terms of employment over the last 15-20 years. Excluding the fact of the workforce growth in net terms, there have been no real initiatives in relation to the proper use of qualified employees, increasing productivity, creating a better service and other similar issues.

More importantly, there has been no significant development in technological infrastructure. In this area, HTO is simply managing to survive and under no circumstances has it the capability, with its present formation, to expand and adjust to the new technological conditions. This area is very closely connected to the particular policies which management has put into practice over the years. It has to do with choices and in many respects with specific 'political choices' made directly by the government,

rather than with decisions which are related to the actual needs of the industry. This type of 'development' is an integral part of the complicated network of Greek social and political relations. In other words, the pattern identified in the telecommunications sector can also be found in most other Greek industries. The peculiarity of this 'network' of social, political and economic relations is not only identified through the dependent nature of contemporary Greek society (although, as we have seen, that is an important factor).

A rather more complete identification of such a system of social 'organisation' calls for a more flexible interweaving of 'the economic' with the development of certain national characteristics; a specific type of 'ideology' which is reproduced at every basic layer of Greek society. The immediate effects of this can be seen in the way decisions are taken by management and more importantly, their conduct in relation to any such affairs. To cite some examples: buying telephone switchboards worth millions of drachma, which proved to be inadequate and made HTO lose billions as a result (e.g. the LMT from Thomson in 1979). Also, HTO wasted 562 million buying faulty telephone equipment from ITT in 1985. In general, massive and unnecessary supplies cost 5 billion in 1985, in other words 45% of the industry's financial liabilities.[11]

Most of the issues regarding the development of HTO, are the result of the conglomeration of many separate and at the same time closely linked factors which belong to the sphere of 'the

economic', 'the political' and 'the social'. But, the latter two aspects are very important in determining to a certain extent, how and why HTO is undergoing such a deep crisis.

Consequently, the crisis is also due to prolonged mismanagement by the governing bodies. This particular point is illustrated by the lack of any financial rationale on the organization's economic policy. One of its major characteristics is the industry's heavy debt to various international economic sources (Tables 9,10). The total amount of capital loans between 1978 and 1985 increased ninefold, from 19.8 billion to 179.6 billion. In the same period, there has been a clear shift in the pattern of borrowing: more specifically since 1983 HTO's policy has been to dramatically increase loans from international financial sources such as Lloyds, Chemical, Standard Chartered and others. Capital borrowed from internal sources increased by just 2 billion, from 18.7 in 1978 to 20.9 in 1985. However, in the same period borrowing from multinational banks increased by over 157 billion, from just over 1 billion in 1978, to 158 billion in 1985.[12] Therefore, borrowing levels from international sources accounted for 88.3% of the total amount by 1985.

This type of policy is associated with the fact that the huge amounts of money are not put into effective use. The levels of investment are very low and as we have seen, do not encourage growth. At the same time the whole industry is put through the circle of going into debt and thus having to repay large amounts of money in the form of interest rates (Table 11). Also, parts of

Year	Longterm liabilities	Short-term liabilities	Total	Annual	%
1977	19.3	7.2	26.5	-	-
1978	23.5	7.8	31.4	4.8	18.4
1979	26.3	12.1	38.5	7.1	22.6
1980	37.1	17.1	54.1	15.7	40.7
1981	47.8	21.6	69.4	15.2	28.1
1982	64.5	21.4	86.0	16.6	23.9
1983	104.0	28.5	132.5	46.5	54.1
1984	160.1	40.5	200.7	68.1	51.4
1985	186.7	53.9	240.6	39.8	19.9

Table 9: Annual changes of HTO's Debt, 1977-85 (millions)

Source Telecommunication Statistics in Greece, 1985.

Year	National	%	International	%	Total
1978	18.7	94.8	1.0	5.1	19.7
1979	20.9	93.5	1.5	6.5	22.4
1980	25.5	77.2	7.5	22.8	33.0
1981	26.5	62.9	15.7	37.1	42.2
1982	28.0	49.7	28.3	50.3	56.3
1983	25.8	27.9	66.8	72.1	92.6
1984	23.5	15.7	126.2	84.3	149.7
1985	21.0	11.7	158.6	88.3	179.6

Table 10: Borrowing levels from national and international sources 1978-85 (millions)

Source: Balance sheets, 1978-85.

these loans are used in the repayment of other organisations' debts (such as the Post Office), or are withheld by the Bank of Greece which acts as a financial guarantor for HTO. In 1985, 36% of the loans were held by the Bank of Greece, leaving very little to be used by the sector itself.

Table 11 : Interest rates repayments, 1978-86

Year	Interest Rates (millions)
1978	3,03
1979	4,12
1980	5,58
1981	8,64
1982	12,00
1983	12,55
1984	16,19
1985	23,50
1986	30,87 (approximation)

Source: Stratoulis, D. 1986, HTO and State-Monopoly Capitalism, Epistimoniki Skepsi 29.

4.3 HTO and the international situation

The question of HTO's position in the wider international context is very important because the industry is directly affected by economic and technological developments and by the organisations who initiate these changes. One consequence of HTO's general pattern of policies is its almost absolute dependence on various firms for the supply of technology. Unlike other major telecommunications firms, HTO does not produce its own equipment and has no research and development funds. Essentially, the issue of the sector's specific position in the international context, is part of the framework which involves socio-economic and political relations in Greece. Industrial relations are also part of this framework and as we shall see, correspond to the current trends and conditions of the industry.

There is a wide gap between the world-wide transformation taking place in new technologies and the situation in Greece. As we have shown, HTO has an old and outdated infrastructure and there have been no real efforts to change and modernize. In 1977, HTO in association with the Bank of Industrial Development, set up the Hellenic Electronics Corporation (HEC). This organisation would promote the development and manufacturing of modern telecommunications equipment. However, it did not do so, for a variety of reasons such as underfunding and the fact that official policy favoured the buying of equipment from other national and international firms.

Eventually, HEC was bought by HTO with the approval of the government in 1988. Its character was drastically altered and it became a dealing subsidiary company which would simply get supplies for HTO. It will not produce nor manufacture anything.[13] That particular decision found the Unions opposed but it still went through with the support of the Ministry of Transport and Communications.[14] Consequently, HTO has to continue being dependent upon a whole network of firms which supply all its technology (Table 12). Almost 35% of its supplies comes from SIEMENS, GTE, ITT and SUMITOMO and the remaining 65% is supplied through 24 Greek firms which have strong links with international capital (Table 13). The relationship between HTO and its suppliers does not inspire very much confidence since they do not provide for a more advanced telecommunications infrastructure. As we have seen the basic telecommunications network is old, outdated and in need of modernisation. At the beginning of 1989, the government announced a massive modernisation programme at a cost of 200 billion [15], although it did not set out the parameters of how it would be done.

A similar situation existed in France prior to the 1970's. But, a public investment programme 'transformed the French telephone network from an embarrassing oddity into one of the most efficient in Europe.'[16] This was effective because there was a particular strategy followed which involved developing the electronics industry, exploiting new markets and going into new kinds of initiatives in such areas as videotex, teletext, communications satellites and others. However, that kind of strategy was successful during the 1970's and early 80's. The current period is much more complex and the industries which

Table 12: Main Suppliers and Costs, 1975-85 (billion

Suppliers	Cost
Siemens	18,06
Sumitomo	3,56
GTE	1,89
ITT	1,36
Bell Telephone	98,45 (million)

Source: RCSC - Management Conference, 1986

Table 13: Main national suppliers and costs, 1974-85

Suppliers	Cost
Hellenic Cables	4,29
Fulgor	3,89
Chandris Cables	2,87
Manouli Cables	2,77
AEG-Hellas	724,04
Hellenic Cables	425,80
Standard Electric Hellas	415,47
General Cables	354,68
Galiatsatos	341,80
Elvitil	294,25
Philips	196,88
Ergon	190,26
General Suppliers	172,57
Met Plast	167,75
Tudor	146,78
Gemco	134,17
Viochalco	119,00
Emitron	109,43
Cypriotis	106,86
Vasilikiotis	103,41
Petsetakis	102,00
A.K. Hellas	87,12
Intracom	32,85
Total	13,940 (billion)

Source: JCC-Management Conference, 1986

already have power are going to try to monopolise the markets. The telecommunications industry is, on the whole, dominated by multinational firms irrespective of whether in most countries the industry is state controlled. Even as far back as 1973, the telephone exchange market was controlled by six companies[17].

Recent developments in the electronics field have radically changed the technology available for the provision of telecommunication services. As a result, the industry is growing fast. It is calculated that by the end of the century, 60% of employment in Europe will in some way be dependent upon telecommunications and 7% of GNP will come from the industry as opposed to 2% in the 1980's (in Greece the percentage is below 0.3%)[18].

In other words, multinational capital is playing a very important role in financing new projects, finding new markets and controlling those weaker parts of the industry which are underdeveloped. In Europe, major companies such as BT, Siemens-Ericsson and Alcatel are battling it out on all fronts : from the Europage Network[19] to the supply of payphones where Plessey and GEC launched their range early in 1988[20] and finally to providing Europe-wide mobile phone networks.[21] The E.E.C., acknowledging the rapid changes taking part, produced a Green Paper in 1987, where it promotes the policy of a united infrastructure in telecommunications. Since, due to the economics of the situation and the development of ISDN (integrated services digital network), equipment is becoming more or less standard, the Community's

policy as expressed in the Green Paper aims towards 'deregulation' in Europe and a closer cooperation with the U.S.A. and Japan. The standards for an 'open market' in telecommunications are already set by the multinational firms on a worldwide scale. For example, ISDN (a way to send a combination of voice and computer signals over the telephone) is becoming international. McDonald's Corporation, for example, is installing the system because 'ISDN is an emerging international standard and we are an international company. We have offices in Japan and England which are pushing hard behind ISDN. So it is part of our long-term communications strategy.'[22] In general, the market for all sorts of new technology is increasing and it is calculated that the 'integrated office systems market will be worth more than 200 billion ECU's annually world-wide, with at least 20% of this accounted for by the Community'[23] (Figure 4.4).

Therefore, as the restructuring process continues, both developed and developing nations are affected. It is becoming increasingly difficult to use 'national' government policies in order to restrain the consequences of these processes. This is of particular significance for workers' participation and industrial relations, since their position in the industry is almost directly influenced by international developments. In relation to HTO, it is not so much a case of whether the industry will be able to follow an 'independent' path of development, but whether it will be able to gain from the restructuring process through the development of an autonomous economic policy. At the moment the industry is underdeveloped and cannot compete at any level on an international scale. The management's policy has been to follow those international directives which will simply perpetuate the current

WORLD MARKET

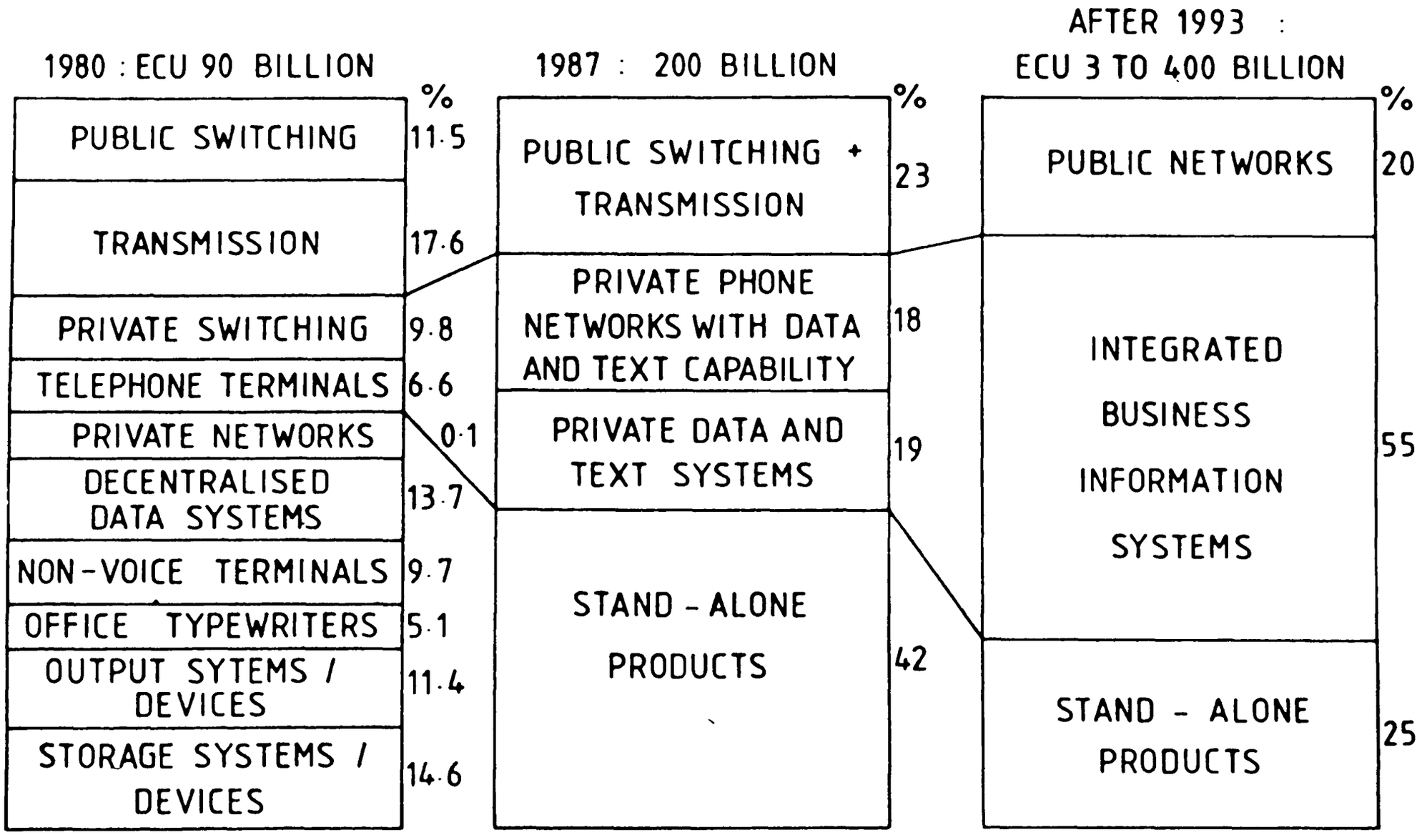


Figure 4.4: Trend towards integrated systems

Source: EEC, Green Paper, 1987.

situation. But, although there is a 'co-ordination' of policies between multinational capital and HTO's management, the social and political preconditions for the attainment of the restructuring process are much more complicated. This particular points brings us to the issues which will concern us in the next part, namely the socio-political reality of industrial relations within the HTO.

4.4 Industrial Relations and workers' participation in the HTO

From the previous discussion, it became evident that HTO is an industry which is not capable of playing an important role in the restructuring process of the economy. The industry is deprived of investment and modern technology and at the same time it finds itself in a continuous state of crisis, reflected in low productivity, excess borrowing and bad quality of service.

In the world context, rapid changes are moving economies into new directions. The increasing internationalisation of production accompanied by the introduction of new technologies, is the background for a variety of problems which are closely linked to the social and the political spheres of any society. The formation of a new set of questions and problems emerging from the restructuring process, requires a re-evaluation of certain concepts upon more sophisticated levels of analysis. Traditional views connected to 'industrial relations' as a whole are also under scrutiny: for example, the traditional debate concerning the 'study of job regulation' or 'rules of employment' and 'relationships between power, participation and control in organizations' does not

correspond any more with the current historical conditions. By this we mean that 'industrial relations' and 'workers' participation' are also political problems which have exceeded the limitations of 'the industry' due to the increasing complexity of contemporary society. This is much more easily identified in the case of HTO, where politics and ideology have been influential in determining industrial relations as a whole.

As we have seen in Chapter 3, in 1983 the government introduced Law 1365/83 in relation to the public sector. This legislation covered all the major nationalised industries and set the framework for the introduction of, as it was called by the government, a 'new era' in industrial relations. The 'socialization' of the public sector industries meant that workers could now' participate in management strategy, programming and also in the control of all representation'[24] within the industry. That was followed by the actual regulations which set the structure of workers' participation in the telecommunications sector. In 1985, Presidential Decree 58 referred to the specific 'structure, role and method of administration and function'[25] of HTO, thus establishing some sort of joint consultation committees. In pure political terms, the government had to do something in order to justify its 1981 election victory against the right-wing, and also draw attention away from its 1985 austerity programme.

At first, the new laws created some misunderstanding between leading figures of the Trade Union Movement because the debate centred on whether it would be possible to get something out of participating in the industry. But, the continuous conservative

attitude of the PASOK policies quickly showed that the new system had no chance simply because it was not designed to do so in the first place. It is important to note that before the two pieces of legislation mentioned above, the government passed a law in 1982 (Law 1264/82) in relation to the Trade Union Movement which was again hailed as protecting workers in the private sector and creating the basis for a new approach in labour-management relations because such legislation 'does not, in our opinion, exist anywhere in Eastern or Western Europe'[26]. In fact, the law was one of the most compromising and even the right-wing would not have pursued it. Although it prohibited lock-outs and to some extent protected union members,[27] it also helped to break strike action by using the threat of military tribunals[28]. Also by 1986 the government was talking of legislation that would ban strikes in the private sector which 'abuse labour privileges - a formulation without recent parallel in Western Europe, so inclusive that it could cover any strike over wage demands that exceeded government-imposed limits, as well as strikes to reduce working hours or to secure higher bonuses, better health conditions or any other demand that might raise unit costs of production.'[29]

Another very important element was Article 4 which was the cause of massive union actions between 1983 and 1988, since it tried to limit strike action by making it illegal once certain preconditions were not met. This article was built into law 1365/83 and stated that in order to go on strike there had to be a ballot and a positive majority decision (i.e. 50 per cent plus 1) of all union members throughout the country. The election procedure could last for up to 2 days and the results had

to be confirmed by an official member of the legal profession. Lastly, this would affect all kinds of strike action. In other words, the same procedure would have to be followed for a three-hour stoppage and for a general strike.

Needless to say, such pure 'Thatcherism' created feelings of discontent amongst many sectors of the workforce. More important, however, was the fact that at the same time, a process of re-evaluation had started in the Trade Union Movement and also amongst left-wing parties, which related to whether PASOK would ever deliver its pre-1981 election manifesto. The evidence was completely contradictory : anti-labour laws, conservative economic policies such as the austerity programme of 1985, and a return to traditional roles in terms of foreign policy. Industrial action was on the increase after the pause of 1981 (Table 14) and between 1982 and 1987 it resulted in millions of working hours being lost through strikes.

In 1985 with the advent of the government's new policy of industrial relations came the political manipulation of the executive committee of the Greek Confederation of Labour. The government in effect appointed its own members and using the laws and the Judiciary it tried to establish a situation where the Trade Union Movement would be left without its own independent governing body. This particular issue is of great significance because it reflected the ideology behind governmental labour policy. It is evident that the question of whether 'workers' participation' could be established in such a political climate and with such policies against labour receives, almost predictably, a negative answer.

Year	Manual Workers	Non-manual	Others	Number of strikes	Working hours lost (million)
1976	610000	450000	230000	342	21.1
1977	980000	400000	226000	420	29.1
1978	1980000	810000	236000	821	37.1
1979	1905000	797518	117000	679	33.5
1980	1722000	1318717	200600	1470	54.3
1981	714000	248200	290100	579	14.3
1982	640000	50000	100000	1300	20
1983	1296000	219155	221845	1127	21.1
1984	1803000	554030	615995	760	35.7
1985	2715000	464561	741085	754	40.1
1986	3500000	1000000	1000000	900	60
1987	2799000	1012330	1021524	588	55.4

Table 14: Changes in strike action 1976-1987

Source : ERGATOIPALILIKI FONI 1988 4, p.40

In fact, the question itself became less relevant in view of the situation but the issue of workers' participation and industrial relations gained in importance as it was more clearly linked to the existing social and political conditions. Consider Presidential Decree 58 again. That was one of three laws which referred to the Public Power Corporation, Telecommunications and the Railways Organisation. The legislation involves the creation of a system of workers' participation which would accommodate the process of decision-making by management and employees in relation to all major aspects of industrial policy. It was supposed to be the embodiment of the 'socialised' industrial sector and it relied on the workings of the following structure: control would be at the hands of the Representative Committee for Social Control (RCSC). It consisted of a total of 27 members involving 9 workers' representatives, 9 state representatives and 9 representatives from other relevant organisations such as the confederation of Greek industries, local government and others. This was a kind of joint consultation committee which was to function as the central decision-making body of company board level and determine policies that HTO would follow in relation to its economic and social development. The RCSC would effectively decide on the financial strategy, the organization's budget and would check upon the progress of its policies. It would also form an opinion and consequently advise on industrial matters and other issues of the day. But, it is important to note that the RCSC was only in the position to 'effectively decide'. The real decisions were supposed to be taken by the Executive Committee of HTO. This consisted of 9 members: 6 governmental representatives and 3 from the workforce.

The EC introduced matters for discussion to the RCSC in relation to the issues mentioned above. In consequence, the RCSC could only decide to accept or reject a particular line of policy adopted by the EC, although the government proclaimed that it was the RCSC's who had real power. In so far as power is concerned, from its origination the model for workers' participation on HTO suggests quite the opposite. The main components, the RCSC and the EC, did not correspond to each other and the levels at which workers could have had a real influence over decisions were limited from the very beginning.

Two more elements should be mentioned in order to complete the legislative framework : firstly, the Peripheral Representative Assemblies (PRA's). These were set up around the country in order to advise the RCSC on regional issues concerning the organisation. Secondly, at the central level an Industrial Council (IC) was formed. This consisted of 9 members, all elected workers representatives, and it would advise the RCSC on issues specifically related to the workforce. For example, it could offer guidelines on things like working conditions, increase of productivity levels and other similar issues. This committee had some decision-making powers on matters such as setting up regional industrial committees and sports and other cultural activities (Figure 4.5).

To recapitulate, then, the main themes of the legislative framework were the EC, and its relations to the RCSC. The former was the real decision-making centre, while the latter manifested

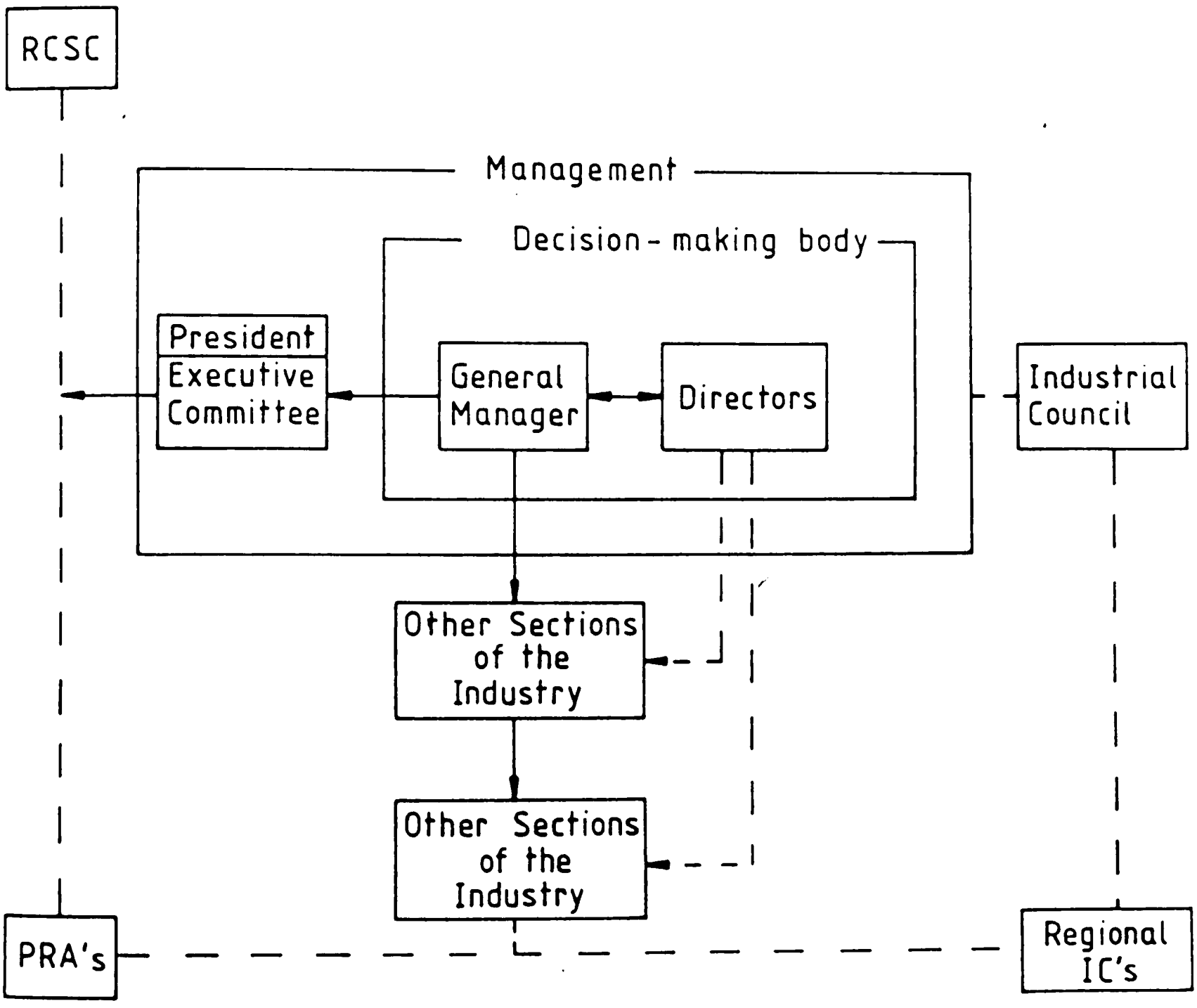


Figure 4.5: An illustration of the workers' participation structure in HTO

Source: Adapted from a figure in HTO's Balance Sheet, 1986.

the workers' right to exercise control over the affairs of the industry. There were also the various other committees which could have played some part but in the end proved to be insufficient and rarely exercised any form of power. But there is another important dimension which should not go unmentioned: the role of the state itself. The government's involvement in the affairs of HTO remained direct even after the 'introduction' of workers' participation in 1985. This, as we shall see, was manifested in a variety of ways and it specifically affected even what limited chance workers had to take part in the decision-making process. The issue is of particular political importance and it 'exploded' at some stage, amongst the unionists who demanded a real stake in the affairs of HTO. This was (and still is) not only a party political matter, but it involved politics since it related to the industry itself and also to the 'ideology' of workers' participation as a form of having power in society as a whole. As one worker commented:

> 'The workers' committees, or where we participate don't work. We have to take further action to ensure that this will change. We have to involve the whole of the Union Movement in this affair.'

Also, in the General Conference of the Confederation of Telecommunications Employees, one delegate elaborated upon the basic aspects of the problem:

> 'Just over 3 years ago, when these committees first started to work, we thought that although there are drawbacks, it was still something good. But, they are totally controlled by the government. Even in the RCSC where we have a few more representatives, decisions are blocked. They do not function. A characteristic of HTO is its extreme centralization and its control by the government and PASOK is total. In terms of development policy, the industry is following the general development of the country.'

That was in 1988 and it reflected 3 years of bad industrial relations. Management simply refused to accept the new regulations and it was backed up by the government. During that period major decisions were taken prior to consultation and debate in the RCSC. In fact, the committee was rendered useless because a number of times management and state representatives did not turn up for the meetings. Management was also refusing to inform workers about the affairs of the industry in relation to any issue of importance. In other words, there was never any exchange of information with regard to macro-economic or employment policy, price rises or whatever else affected the industry.[30] And that was not the only problem : management used legislation in relation to trade-secrets to sue workers' representatives on a number of occasions. For example, in July 1986 the General Manager lodged a complaint against an RCSC member because of the latter's statement on the committee which was critical of HTO's finances.[31] In the statement it was mentioned that HTO borrowed in excess of 175 billion drachma during 1985, which reflected the degree of the organization's mismanagement of its financial affairs.[32]

This was just a small part in a chain of events which characterised the way management functioned in HTO. The lawsuit was followed by the government's insistence on industrial secrecy. In June 1986, the Ministry of Economic Affairs declared that from now on the RCSC should decide upon economic policy without knowledge of the financial indicators. In other words, major decisions on long-term projects would be taken with the workers' consent, without them knowing the exact volume of the plan or how much it costs. Clearly, the central principle behind that move was a political one. It was not so much a matter of protecting trade

secrets (although that was part of it since 1986 marked the beginning of the biggest financial scandal in Greece with serious repercussions for HTO's management), nor of establishing the right of management to manage. The issue was strongly related to the government's general policy regarding labour relations and the restrictions imposed upon workers' participation reflected that pattern in a very specific way. A worker, member of the RCSC, explains:

> 'Management does not acknowledge our existence. The quality of telecommunications is worsening and members of the RCSC are not informed about anything. There are delays in investment programmes and all the proposals we've made were refused by the management. The government does not say where all the money is going to and they don't want us to know anyway. On top of that we have massive bureaucracy, cheating, lies and workers and trade unionists getting prosecuted on numerous occasions. We have never really participated in any decisions, not even on price policies.'

But, although workers did not have the chance to make decisions, their involvement in the RCSC and the other committees gave rise to a new kind of cohesion and commitment which went beyond differing ideological backgrounds. They wanted more participation. As one worker said:

> 'The government has different views from us. Our participation in HTO is a move forward for us and for our defence. But, we must be more methodical in our actions. The government and their managers have an obvious advantage because of their political power. We do not have power and therefore we need to know more about issues affecting our sector. For example, we must know about new technology, about the industrial structure, about the budget and finances. We also need to exchange more ideas between ourselves.'

And another worker added:

> 'We have tried to make these committees work. On the other hand they tried exactly the opposite by taking away their powers. Price-policy is decided by them, the budget is passed by them without any consultation whatsoever. Still we have managed to expose all these things and we showed the reality of HTO's management. We need more opinions and we need to organise seminars where points of view will be debated. Our representatives have to be closer to all workers at the place of work and through the union organisations.'

Consequently, the contradictions between government and labour were coming into the open through what was happening in the participating structures and that was something very concrete for the workforce. Only a year after the introduction of workers' participation, the government presented its new regulations which 'adjusted' the functions of the RCSC. From now on the committee's point of view would be taken into consideration by management and government and only in relation to short-term policy. Major issues and long-term economic planning would be decided by the EC, while the RCSC could only advise upon such matters. At the same time, some aspects regarding financial policy such as the provision of supplies costing up to 200 million drachma, would be left to the exclusive responsibility of the general managers and the directors board.

These alterations were necessary according to government officials because 'it is not correct for the RCSC to have the final word on issues of policy because that way the decision-making

process becomes inflexible'[33] A few months later in May 1987, the government introduced the law which in effect put an end to any decision-making powers workers may have had. Government itself and management would be the instruments of control through the EC. They had the final say on 'every aspect related to management, the administration of finances and in general to the pursuit of the organizations arising'.[34]

Therefore, the actions which before 1987 had the aim of marginalising workers participation, were now put into a legislative framework in order to be unequivocally justifiable. It is also significant that the government attempted to politically separate industrial relations from its own social and economic policies. In other words what was happening in HTO and within the participatory framework was no longer the business of the government. In an interview, the junior minister for economic affairs said that 'of course there would be problems at the beginning of the 'socialisation' process. I believe that 'socialisation' has helped in the creation of a new environment for cooperation between management and workers. Modernisation cannot be handed out by the government, or by other agencies outside the industry. It comes about because management and workers cooperate!' [35] That particular statement came about as late as December 1988, at a time when the Trade Union Movement was going through a series of industrial actions, regarding the whole nature of the government's economic policy and its attitude towards workers participation. During the Telecommunication Workers Union Conference earlier in the year, delegates were making it clear that

the government is not prepared to allow a substantial form of workers' participation. A worker explains:

> 'Those committees are blocked by the government. They want to take the decisions as they always did. At the same time our internal situation is getting worse irrespective of what the government is saying. On each and every issue of our sector we do not have a say, from employment policy to long-term financial policies. Look at the problem of meritocracy : the government has put almost 4000 workers in HTO without any kind of interviewing or examination taking place. And what about financial affairs where management is bringing HTO to its knees due to lack of investment and excessive borrowing. They must resign because HTO is now like a tax collector who takes from us and pays for the debts of others.'

The government's attitude is very clearly illustrated by its own actions in relation to major decisions about the future of the industry. As we saw earlier at the beginning of 1989 the government endorsed an investment programme at a cost of 200 billion drachma. But, at the end of August 1988, it had already announced a 500 billion programme which would be completed by 1992.[36] Other important issues, such as the development of modern technology through HEC and mobile telephony were decided upon without any consultation with the workforce. For example, HTO's management signed agreements between 1988-89 with various national and international firms which gave them absolute rights over the development and installation of mobile systems for a period of 25 years.[37] The RCSC was never informed prior to these actions and as one worker put it:

> 'Look at HEC and everything else that has been happening. The government never brought the matter to RCSC because it said that we don't have to discuss these things with you. There's no social control on those committees.'

But, by far the most important incident was the financial scandal involving government officials and almost all the top directors of the nationalised industries, which broke out at the beginning of 1989.[38] The affair was over vast sums of money being deposited with the Bank of Crete during the summer of 1988 and while it was undergoing a liquidity crisis, and it was investigated by the authorities. As it was reported, 'the bank's former chairman George Koskotas in jail in the US has alleged that the bulk of interest payments were going to government officials and associates of the prime minister and to the ruling Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK).'[39] The general manager of HTO, who deposited 2 billion drachma,[40] appeared before the judge during March 1989, in order to answer charges of breach of trust and he was later remanded in custody together with the directors of the Greek Post Office, Olympic Airways, the Business Reconstruction Organisation and other officials.

The scandal shook public opinion and the Trade Union Movement called for the government to step down and for a clean up operation of the major industries to take place.[41]

It is clear, then, that these incidents, together with the general position of the government in relation to labour relations, indicated the collapse of any sort of participatory processes since a significant part of management had been involved in corruption.

Whatever the interpretation of such events, it is evident that it is almost impossible to try and describe economic, social and

political or any other systems as separate entities. Their interrelationships within the productive process is so complete that one must continuously acknowledge and consider the main factors which contribute to specific kinds of formations. In other words, in order to evaluate the system of workers' participation in HTO we have to consider the links to the economic and political situation, so that the relations between the 'internal' and 'external' factors can be exposed. As we said earlier any model of industrial relations incorporates the social and political factors which shape relations in industry. The extent to which such factors affect relations within the industrial context, is so vitally important that we can no longer conceptualise 'workers' participation' in isolation from the wider environment. The empirical validity of this type of approach will be assessed in the next part where evidence from the employee survey of HTO is presented and discussed.

4.5 Evidence and evaluation : the workforce in HTO

Having placed 'workers' participation' and 'industrial relations' in the telecommunications sector within the context of the socio-political conjuncture of contemporary Greece, the next step is to illustrate employees' perceptions and evaluations of the situation which directly affects them at their place of work. The 'reality' which exists outside the immediate experience of any individual worker is brought together through their collective response to empirical investigation. In other words, the implications of that 'external reality' previously discussed are

clearly established from the evidence. The meaning of the evidence resides in the interrelationship between the 'external' and 'internal' factors which articulate the industry itself. Therefore, the data presented here are simply an empirical result of the mediation between 'object' and 'subject'; if they are seen outside that context they lose their true essence. They must also be seen within the specific 'historical' (in terms of time, space etc) context in which they were taken.

From a practical point of view, the following procedures were used to provide a sample of employees for analysis:

a) A questionnaire was used (see appendix I) which took between 10-20 minutes to complete.

b) Sampling was confined to a three month period : July, August and September 1988.

c) Sampling was restricted to three major working areas in Athens where almost half of HTO's employees live and work.

d) The questionnaire consisted of five major areas which related to issues concerning education and training, salaries, job-satisfaction, unionisation and participation and welfare provisions.

The underlying reasons for asking a variety of questions and not concentrating on the issue of 'workers' participation' per se,

was because the subject matter of the study is closely linked to responses on wider work-related issues. In other words, employees' attitudes to a more general level of questioning about the industry substantiate the standard of their 'participation' in its affairs regardless of whether it is done directly or indirectly. [42]

The total number of responses was 251 and interviewing mainly took place during work hours. An initial survey of the major job categories and gender differences proved useful since it established a rough picture of how to distinguish workers and where they could be found. HTO's employees work in many different areas in and outside the centre of Athens, and the sites were chosen in relation to the fact that they accommodated a variety of employees from the job categories that were established. A small number of questionnaires was handed out to two other locations where a number of low-paid employees worked, but most were not returned.

In fact, initially, there was a lot of suspicion from employees and some trade-unionists about the nature and the character of questioning. Some were afraid that this was the employer's way of 'unofficially' finding out what their views are. Some trade-unionists were allocated questionnaires to hand out but very few responded positively. They regarded the whole process as of little use and some positively blocked it by not returning the questionnaires. The general level of fear and suspicion is probably one of the most indicative factors of the situation within the work environment of HTO. Having established some contacts with people (a small number of trade unionists and RCSC representatives and a handful of employees - see below) the process became somewhat

easier. However, even at the later stages of interviewing during September, when most people had an idea of what was going on, a couple of trade unionists said 'if we didn't know who you are we would throw you out'. Nevertheless there was never any real aggression involved, and most people showed an interest in being questioned and were willing to express their opinions. It was the first time ever that a survey of that kind had taken place at their place of work and which was asking a few more specific questions on what they think about their working environment.

It has to be made clear that the summer months of 1988 were turbulent times in terms of the labour relations climate and the overall political situation. The evidence relating to the financial scandal (see Chapters 3, 5) was beginning to shake public opinion and the involvement of the General Manager of HTO in that was beginning to influence the already deteriorating state of industrial relations.

In the previous year (Spring, 1987) preparatory work was undertaken and some data were collected in relation to the general environment of labour relations in the public sector and particularly in HTO. From a first examination of that evidence it slowly became apparent that the infrastructure of workers' participation in the telecommunications sector was not functioning properly. In that sense, the data results examined and described below did not come as a surprise. The negative attitude seen in the survey of employees towards the existing system of participation simply reinforces and backed up the fact that the system had malfunctioned and that the more traditional labour relations practices were being continued.

The general political environment made it even more precarious to collect questionnaires and other form of evidence such as interviews.

The problem with collecting the data also related to the fact that such work had never been undertaken before in HTO. Therefore, there was no real background experience on which to turn in order to establish whether previous results indicated something important that needed further examination or indeed, whether there was some element missing which could indicate that some new research was needed.

At the same time, the fact that no previous research had been undertaken created a second type of problem relating not only to how the questionnaire should be structured, but also how to set about making people answer it. Nevertheless the fact had to be established in order to draw a more precise picture of the situation.

The first problem was, more or less, resolved on the basis of general knowledge about the industry and the general problems of labour relations inside and outside HTO. Knowledge of the general structure of Greek industry and society was probably the most useful asset in designing the questionnaire and in conducting the whole project.

The kind of knowledge also proved very useful in relation to the second and most difficult set of problems : how to conduct the survey, and how to get first hand experience. There was, of course, no realtistic chance of getting a permit from the employers because of the overall nature of Greek industrial organization. In fact, it was not even attempted, since it would probably result in an official banning of the whole project from HTO's management.

Therefore, attention was turned towards the unions. The whole idea was that the project would be completed on somewhat formal/informal terms with union representatives and employees knowing about it, without at the same time disclosing the information.

Initially a union member (representative in the participation committee) was approached and asked if he could help. He later became the important link that was needed in order to get results as quickly and efficiently as possible. He contacted other union members and told employees about the nature of the survey. Because employees and other unionists knew him and trusted him it was possible to get other union members to help by distributing questionnaires themselves or more generally giving assistance when it was needed (e.g. by taking us to various offices etc). In fact, without their participation things would have been much more difficult.

However, as we have seen there were some strong reactions from trade union members. In some cases at the beginning of the survey

period, union representatives were given a few questionnaires to hand out at their place of work. They were told that they should simply ask employees to complete the questions and if needed explain to them the purpose of the questionnaire. Results were disappointing : questionnaires were either delayed for prolonged periods of time and when they were returned most had been lost (when twenty or more were given only five or six were returned) or they were never returned at all. Union representatives used various excuses : employees lost the questionnaires; there was no interest in completing it; and that they did not have the time to go round asking people to complete the questionnaires. Although it cannot be claimed that they bent the truth, their attitude indicated a degree of indifference towards such a type of survey.

Nevertheless, the fact that after a while quite a few union representatives knew about the research, proved useful in itself irrespective of whether they actively participated in the process. In general therefore, ordinary union members were much more helpful.

Having overcome some initial problems of organizing the whole survey, questionnaires were initially distributed in two major work-places in the centre of Athens (Patission and Verantzerou). Later, a third area was added because employees were transferred there.

These areas were chosen because they included the various personnel categories found in HTO. However, it must be noted that some questionnaires were picked up from a couple of other locations

as well. Due to the problems discussed above it was not possible to conduct the survey in any other way apart from going to the relevant working areas and handing out questionnaires in various offices. At the same time it constantly had to be stressed that questionnaires are confidential and would only be used for private study purposes. Also, the background and nature of the survey had to be explained on the spot.

In general most employees were happy to answer. Sometimes it was asked whether official permission was granted and once an employee said angrily 'how do I know you're not sent by the government to spy on us?' That in itself proved useful in evaluating the circumstances of working for HTO and the overall nature of labour relations. Usually, after the questionnaire was completed discussions would take place. There would either be related to the questionnaire itself, and/or to problems connected with work.

In general, the method followed once the questionnaires had been given, was to try as much as possible to eliminate debate before they were completed so as not to influence attitudes and opinions. This was to a great extent successful but it may not account for all 251 cases. Consequently, responses are a mixture of strict interviewing, observation, argument and debate. It was decided that at the end of the day it is almost impossible to categorise and standardise individuals and their views and feelings to such an extent as to facilitate 'perfect' statistical comparisons.

The evidence is presented at the end of the chapter. Table 15 indicates the frequency variations so that the general pattern of the results can be determined. The rest of the tables and figures present in percentage terms the responses of individuals mainly by category of occupation and gender.

So, what do the results indicate? In the first part of the questionnaire which asks about education and training (questions 6-12), 75.7% of workers said that their level of education does not correspond to their job. The main reasons for this which they saw were related to a lack of some kind of normal employment techniques and to the general disorganised ways of the industry. There was also a substantial percentage of responses (27.8%) which mentioned that the industry did not really need their particular field of work but they were employed because they could not find work elsewhere. On the other hand, there was a substantial number of people who did not bother to respond and name the reasons they felt were right. Most were disappointed and frustrated because they could not exercise their capabilities to their full potential, something which remained apparent throughout the survey. On the question of whether HTO itself has implemented any sort of training schemes the answers become slightly ambivalent: 38.4% said yes which is quite high if we consider that the industry has no real training or re-training programmes. Further questioning on the nature of training assistance from the industry, most people (62.5%) said that they had taken seminars in various issues relating to telecommunications. Most of these were simply one or two day lectures, while only 13.9% had actually gone to the telecommunications school which is provided by HTO (Fig. 4.8).

In order to establish a possible connection or pattern in the general trend of educational qualifications, training and the actual job done, a further question was introduced on whether qualifications are important in determining promotions and salary levels. In this instance 62.6% gave a positive answer which did not really correspond to the previous answers and especially to the fact that the vast majority of workers thought that their education did not relate to their job. Out of the 37.4% which replied negatively, 29.0% said that in many cases those with few qualifications get better pay and 64.5% said that eventually everyone gets some sort of promotion irrespective of their original qualifications. The results are not as contradictory as they seem at first: If we disregard some of the reasons we mentioned earlier in the chapter for getting a job, we find two main issues evolving from the responses. Firstly, that in objective terms most people would like to exercise more of their knowledge at work and have the freedom to take responsibility. This is also evident from the other questions which related to job-satisfaction and participation. Secondly, there is a form of organization which reflects some pattern of meritocracy within the industry, meaning that in general terms (and not absolute) people with more qualifications are better paid. These two premises may not exactly define the complexity of the issue but the important feature is that workers distinguished the content of 'work' from the idea of 'salary' and 'promotion'. The two things although related have, in a sense, separate meaning. 'Work' entails many more elements than simply status and financial reward.

The next set of questions (13-19) were connected to salary issues. Most employees (67.7%) thought that their salary did not correspond to their work load and a vast majority (91.5%) wanted wage-indexation to be included in their wage. Breaking down the sample according to job-category we identified that although the negative responses accounted for the majority in each case, there were some differences amongst them (Table 16). Over 80% of the technical staff responded negatively which is by far the biggest number. This was due to a variety of factors which involved the nature of their work and their actual wage levels. Technical staff work mostly outside the office connecting lines and fixing telephone equipment. Their numbers are small in relation to the demands of the industry and the percentage of broken telephones, lines and communications equipment. Therefore, they may work longer and more intensively. On the other hand, engineers who work at the office are in a more relaxed environment with less pressure exerted upon them. Through interviewing some engineers it became apparent that quite a few have two jobs and a much higher income than their official salary.

The responses to wage-indexation and to some extent productivity related pay schemes were categorical (Fig. 4.9, Table 17). The former is a long standing and traditional issue of the Greek industrial relations arena. Most workers of all political beliefs in and outside HTO support the continuation of a wage-indexation system which increases wages annually in relation to the level of inflation. The response to the introduction of productivity related pay is very interesting and surprising since it went against the unions' traditional view which opposes such

schemes. Although the result was not overwhelming (58.5% in favour of the system) it clearly indicated a changing attitude on the part of workers who had supported their trade unions in opposition to the scheme. In trying to define how it is possible for both attitudes to exist simultaneously it became evident that workers were not in principle opposed to the idea but they did not trust management on how it was going to work. On the question of how do you think productivity-related pay should be distributed, 44.3% claimed it should be done on an individual basis while 55.7& said that it could be distributed to work units. In other words, workers did not see anything wrong in the improvement of their pay through higher productivity but there was a lot of scepticism about the specifics of implementing such a system. A clear view was expressed that this process must go hand in hand with the enlargement of participation and democracy at work so that they would know and control the criteria with which productivity is judged.

Because the generally low level of salaries is a major problem of the Greek industry, many people have two jobs or work overtime, or take part in the informal or hidden economy. In response to the question of whether overtime and bonuses are important in the general standard of living, only 23.5% said that they are important. On the other hand, 39.1% thought that they are quite important and 37.4% found them not important.

The next section (questions 20-25) was aiming towards finding out about workers' views on their actual working environment. (Fig. 4.10, Table 18). A majority of 93.5% thought that there was a lot

of room for improvement of working conditions especially in relation to the workplace itself, to organisation of work and to other equipment and facilities. Only 4.0% mentioned 'bureaucracy' as one of the major problems and 3.4% wanted less hours at work (Fig. 4.11).

At the same time the number of positive responses to the question of whether you have job-related problems was somewhat lower (63.5%). Again there was a dissociation of 'working conditions' which was thought of as a more general issue, from 'problems at work itself'. And there was some debate on whether you can try and improve your immediate workplace without more wider but significant changes taking place throughout the industry. In general, it was clear that most workers did not see their 'job-related problems' outside the context of the problems HTO is facing. In any case, 53.3% still thought that the actual place of work needed improvement, 15.1% had problems with the supervisor and 15.8% was discontented with everything (Fig. 4.12, Table 19).

In order to weigh possible differences in job-related problems the data was also tabulated according to gender (Tables 20,21,22). Quite a substantial number of women respondents (35.7%) identified 'relations with supervisor' as a major problem (only 10.0% of male respondents saw it as a problem). This indicates the continuous discrimination that takes place at work. At the same time women were not prepared to discuss that particular issue and we could not find any other source (such as unionists) from which to get any valuable information about the nature of the problem. Some women declined to answer further questions or even talk about the context of the issues involved. At no time during the whole of the investigation did the issue arise even in general terms, leaving as

the only indication of its existence the response on the questionnaire. It should be mentioned that trade union activity does not really relate to women's issues which are relegated into some general statements.

The next line of questioning (26-36) related to issues which have to do with workers' participation and unionisation. The level of political union activity (syndication) is traditionally high in Greece and unions are affiliated to political parties. In accordance, 82.3% of the respondents thought of the union as the most important means through which problems of work can be resolved and working conditions improved. Also, 88.3% of workers always voted for their union representative (Fig. 4.13), although participation in other union affairs such as general meetings was not quite as high (Table 23). However, a good number of those workers who said that they had job-related problems, thought the union could move their case forward (Table 24). Even those who did not see themselves as having problems at work identified with the idea of unionised activity. Lastly, 92.3% of workers said that the union should participate in the decision-making process which is by far the strongest indication that unionization is the most important instrument for control and change. This particular section of the questionnaire was the most straightforward for most employees irrespective of their work status, salary or gender.

Another strong indication of the workers' will to make decisions about the affairs of the industry was the massive positive response (95.9%) to the question of whether they would like to participate in the decision-making process. But here the

positive results end. The next line of questioning was directly related to the workings of the system of 'workers' participation' and especially to the RCSC's. Although a fair number of employees thought that the negotiations in the RCSC have helped to improve their salary and working conditions (Fig. 4.14) they did not really justify it with any positive remarks during interviewing. Most workers did not really know how the RCSC functioned and some could not remember what it stood for. They were not really informed about the RCSC's meetings and decisions and most did not know who was representing them in the committee (Fig. 4.15). However, 47.9% of respondents claimed to be 'often' informed about the workings of the committee. But this relatively high number of informed people did not reflect what exactly they were informed about.

Further questioning and conversation indicated that the level of information was very low indeed. It was not the result of any direct or official links to the participation network but rather it came from newspapers, from friends and from general rumours. In reality the vast majority of workers did not know very much of what was happening. In any case very few RCSC meetings had taken place, since management was constantly boycotting the procedures and information was never properly channelled through to employees throughout the period of the survey. It should also be stressed that there was a clear correlation between the different types of personnel, with regards to the RCSC's general performance. (Tables 25, 26, 27). Even the small number of employees who said that they are always informed about RCSC meetings (13.6%), did not strongly relate to consultation from the RCSC representative member since only 40.6% had seen their member at some time or indeed any

committee representative (Table 28). The results are repeated once again when they are broken down to responses by gender (Tables 29, 30, 31). An interesting fact is that no woman respondent had ever been consulted by a committee representative and that only 9.8% of women 'always' got informed about RCSC meetings. On the other hand, 100% of women responded positively to the question of whether they would like to participate in the decision making process (Table 32). And even though, as we have seen, 95.9% of employees responded positively to the previous questions, only 14.0% of those had been 'always' informed about RCSC meetings (Table 33).

Another important matter related to supervisor consultation at the place of work with regards to everyday problems (Tables 34, 35, 36). In this area 44.7% of male respondents gave a negative answer, while for women the percentage was rather higher at 62.2%. In general terms the majority of employees expressed some dissatisfaction about the ways supervision and management functioned. Regardless of whether the degree of 'often' answers was relatively high (44.7% overall) the problem was the quality of supervision and participation at the workplace. A substantial number of workers complained about the fact that they are never consulted about real work-problems (something that relates to earlier parts of the questionnaire), but only about trivial issues. In more general terms, in an environment where participatory mechanisms do not work and the orientation of the industry is decided upon by top management and government, the legitimate issue of supervisor consultation seemed, for most, not to be of great importance.

Trade unionists' and employees' views alike were divided in relation to the area of 'workers' participation'. The majority wanted to have 'real' participation in the industrial affairs through a renovated RCSC system with democracy at work and at the decision-making process. On the other hand, there were those who thought that 'workers' participation' is just another governmental fraud in order to shift the emphasis of the working class movement from political union activity, into more consultative industrial relations. However, as we have seen, the general province of 'unionization' was never challenged and all workers accepted the importance of unions in achieving their aims.

The final section (questions 37-41) consisted of some questions relating to welfare issues and to whether workers had some idea of developments in Western Europe concerned with 'participation'.

Responses to the welfare issue (Fig. 4.16) were quite straightforward and reflect the general standard of such facilities in Greece and throughout the public sector. Finally 69.6% of workers did not know about 'participation' schemes in other Western European countries. From the 30.4% who said that they knew something, 73.3% mentioned some EEC countries (mostly Germany, France and Italy).

4.6 Some further observations

As the workers themselves noted, the general structure of working conditions needs improvement. This was also verified through everyday observations. The offices and in general the working areas in the centre of Athens were housed in old buildings. Employees suffered from the city's heavy pollution and noise.

Hoever, it must be noted that, near the end of the project period (early September) almost 3,000 employees moved to a new building 2-3 miles outside the centre of Athens (Maroussi). For many employees that had a very positive impact on their working day. It is interesting to note, though, that the new spacious working areas established a much more rigid degree of hierarchical order (management at the top floor - clearly defined areas for the other adminsitrative posts of the organization - also clearly defined office space with groups of employees working next to the supervisor's office - space for the union organization on the first floor).

In other working areas, some employees complained because their colleagues did not work. Once an employee said that most of the time when another worker happened to be there, he had the radio on listening to music. In general, it seems that work was continuously interrupted by other factors (coffee breaks, reading of newspapers, union activities, just talking, etc). Also, there were instances of employees going to work late and leaving early, something which is probably a common denominator for many public sector employees.

However that occurred mainly in the administrative parts of the industry. Technicians, telephonists and employees working behind the counter worked longer hours and under bad working conditions.

We also visited the printing factory of HTO, where the telephone directories are manufactured. That employed about 70 workers and was situated about 7 miles outside Athens. The outlet itself was quite small and old with relatively old-fashioned printing machinery. Conditions were bad. A very small and dirty canteen, bad air-conditioning, no overall facitilies. Again, the organization of space inside the factory was very traditional. The manager's office was located on the first floor and through the windors in it he checked every so often on the workforce down below.

In that case permission from the manager had to be given before the premises could be entered. When we met the manager he was apologetic about the fact that he could not really grant permission without consulting top management. However, he could not find the General Manager's assistant on the phone, and subsequently he said that we could proceed although he did not want to know about it.

He also explained the nature of the particular problems he was facing. These related to low productivity and investment and to the fact that he did not have the opportunity to make autonomous decisions. Top management always told him what to do, The workers more or less confirmed this although they complained that he used

extremely strict and old-fashioned labour relations techniques. One worker said that the reason why the manager still has his job is exactly because he does not push top management (the reason being that apparently the manager was pro-conservative while top management were pro-PASOK, since the government placed them there). Finally, those workers were amongst the lowest paid in the whole of the industry.

In general, the overall structure of the questionnaire and especially the fact that it was relatively short, helped the process of getting results. A more detailed type of questioning might not have been so successful. The number of questionnaires that were not returned, plus the fact that it took some workers quite a long time to complete it, indicate the degrees of difficulty. Another indicative factor of the absence of such type of work amongst public sector employees, is that throughout the whole period of interviewing, a very small number of workers (and more importantly union representatives) commented on how the questionnaire could be improved. Of course, that also illustrated varying degrees of indifference towards empirical validation. Nevertheless, some employees did want to know about how data analysis would proceed after all the questionnaires were collected.

Overall there are some basic characteristic features which were highlighted in the survey. In relation to the scheme of workers' participation it was apparent that most employees were dissatisfied with the fact that it had not been successful. They were aware of the government's efforts to block the functions of the participatory committees. They generally distrusted

management. At the shop-floor level it was also obvious that the more or less hierarchical nature of the organization prevailed.

It is important to note however that many employees became so disillusioned with the idea of participation they they had almost abandoned it. Although a substantial number spoke of an upgraded system, they were not inclined to try and put the idea into practice.

At the same time, their attitude has to be seen in the general context of labour relations in HTO. The survey indicated as we have seen a variety of other serious issues related not only to industrial democracy but also to bad organizational and infrastructural problems. These added to employee dissatisfaction and disillusionment.

As we saw earlier workers consistently distinguished between the idea of work and the issues of salary and promotion. In that sense they related themselves to their employment in terms that had something to do with the exercise of initiative and creativity at work and not only with financial rewards. However, because of the system of labour relations and due to the overall nature of working conditions, most workers felt that they were unable to do just that. The survey clearly indicated the levels of dissatisfaction in relation to issues such as improvement of working conditions, relations with supervisor and problems at the workplace. Also a strong indicative factor of employee frustration is related to the fact that most individuals could not see any particular way in which things could improve. Many rightly indicated that no change

can take place unless there are substantial shifts of policy at government level which will incorporate a wider restructuring of the Greek public sector.

In consequence, the general and common feelings and attitudes which we have indicated shape the picture of employees' aspirations in HTO. However, these feelings were not apparently translated into some form of positive action to improve the situation.

It became very clear throughout the survey period that the experiment of workers' participation had failed and that the workers themselves and consequently the unions were not inclined to press for its immediate revival.

4.7. CONCLUSION

The development of the Telecommunications Industry in Greece, has followed a pattern similar to that of the other major sectors of the economy.

The major elements which characterise HTO are related to problems in infrastructure, bad services, and a weak position in terms of the international communications industry. Additional problems are related to its employment policies and to the general level of industrial relations practices.

At the same time, the industry has to be related to the patterns of Greek post-war economic and social development. As we saw in chapter 3 the overall patterns of investment and development

of the public sector have, over a prolonged period of time, produced results that are also evident in HTO.

The implementation of the system of 'workers' participation' by the PASOK government did not alter the more characteristic features of the industry. Workers' participation co-existed with bureaucratic organization, and, at the same time, the main economic policies were still decided by the government and management. In this sense, the implementation of the system of 'participation' did not really improve labour relations.

The survey highlighted the nature of the issues. However, it is very difficult to predict on whether the present system can be improved. Improvement of labour relations as a whole in HTO, possibly rests with more substantial shifts in the general political climate which may, in turn, lead to institutional reforms in the industrial relations field. It is only by relating HTO's situation to Greek economic and social development and to the various mechanisms which help to sustain it, that we may begin to understand the basic linkages that articulate the pattern of industrial relations in the industry.

Table 15: Distribution variables of sample by responses

(GENDER)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Male	205
2	Female	45
9		1

Job Description : engineer administrative employees
non-administrative employee, technical staff
Others

(JOBD)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Engineer	32
2	Administrative employee	87
3	Non-administrative	20
4	Technical staff	84
5	Others	23
9		5

Place of Job

(INPLACE)

VALUE	FREQUENCY
1	69
2	72
3	69
9	41

Period Employed

(YEARS)

VALUE	FREQUENCY
1-5	41
6-10	26
11-15	75
16-20	54
21-25	33
26-30	7
9	15

Educational background: School, College, University
Post-graduate

(EDUC)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	School	9
2	College	108
3	University	104
4	Post-graduate	8
5	Other	4
9		10

At all cases numbers 0,9 represent missing and no answers respectively.

Is your level of education related to your job

(EDUCJOB)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	190
2	NO	61

If no, why

(IFNO)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Meritocracy	16
2	Organization	7
3	No such specialization	3
4	Other response/doesn't know	10
0		191
9		24

Has the corporation assisted you in further training whilst an employee

(COMEDUC)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	94
2	NO	151
9		6

(IFYES)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Seminars	45
2	Management/computing	8
3	Sabbatical leave	9
4	Study in telecom school	10
0		156
9		23

Does your education/training play a role in successful new salary

(EDUCWAGE)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	154
2	NO	92
9		5

If no, why

(WHYNO)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Meritocracy	9
2	Problems with promotion	2
3	Due to promotion structure	20
0		158
9		62

Do you think that your present salary corresponds to your work load

(WAGJOB)

		FREQUENCY
1	YES	67
2	NO	170
9		17

Do you thinks that your basic wage should include wage-indexation

(INDEX)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	225
2	NO	21
9		5

Do you think that productivity-related pay should be implemented

(WAGPRD)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	144
2	NO	102
9		5

If yes, how do you think productivity-related pay should be distributed

(YESHOW)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Individually	62
2	Collectively	78
0		102
9		9

Do you think that your present salary is better than you could obtain elsewhere

(SATWAGE)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	110
2	NO	123
9		18

Do you regard the salary as the most impotant incentive to keeping your job

(SALIMP)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	152
2	NO	91
9		8

How important are overtime and bonuses to your standard of living

(PRIM)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Very important	57
2	Quite important	95
3	Not important	91
9		8

To what extent are you satisfied with your present job

(SALIMP)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Very satisfied	23
2	Satisfied	184
3	Not satisfied	38
9		6

Do you think that working conditions should be improved

(WORKCOND)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	229
2	NO	16
9		6

If yes, how

(DESYES)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Promotion/hierarchy	10
2	Place of work	55
3	Equipment	43
4	Less bureacracy	6
5	Better organization	30
6	Hours of work	5
0		20
9		82

Do you have job-related problems

(PROBJOB)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	155
2	NO	89
9		7

If yes, are these related to any of the following

(PROBS)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Relations with workmates	5
2	Relations with supervisor	23
3	Place of work	81
4	Personal/other reasons	19
5	All above	24
0		91
9		8

Do you think any of these problems can be resolved

(SOLVE)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	141
2	NO	27
0		76
9		7

If yes, do you think the union is important in resolving these problems

(UNION)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	144
2	NO	31
0		70
9		6

How often do you vote for union representatives

(REPSUN

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Always	219
2	Often	24
3	Never	5
9		3

How often do you attend union meetings

(GENMEET)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Always	114
2	Often	89
3	Never	40
9		8

Do you think that the union should participate in the decision-making process

(UNIONPAR)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	228
2	NO	19
9		4

Do you think that you should participate more in the decision-making process

(YOUPART)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	233
2	NO	10
9		8

Do you get information about RCSC meetings

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Always	33
2	Often	116
3	Never	93
9		9

Does your RCSCREP consult you before the meeting

(RCSCREP)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Always	16
2	Often	58
3	Never	163
9		14

Do you think that RCSC helped in improving your salary

(RCSCWAGE)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	48
2	NO	185
9		18

Do you think that RCSC helped in improving your working conditions

(RCWOCO)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	75
2	NO	157
9		19

Does your supervisor consult you before any decision is taken

(MANASK)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	Always	18
2	Often	105
3	Never	112
9		16

Do you think that regulations in workers disputes should be structured by joint-consultation

(LAWS)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	235
2	NO	5
9		11

Do you regard provisions in relation to sick-pay as adequate

(HEALTH)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	62
2	NO	168
9		21

Do you regard provisions in relation to pregnancy leave as adequate

(PREG)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	68
2	NO	141
9		42

Do you consider the corporation's holiday provisions as adequate

(HOLID)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	35
2	No	195
9		21

Do you know of participation schemes anywhere else in W.Europe

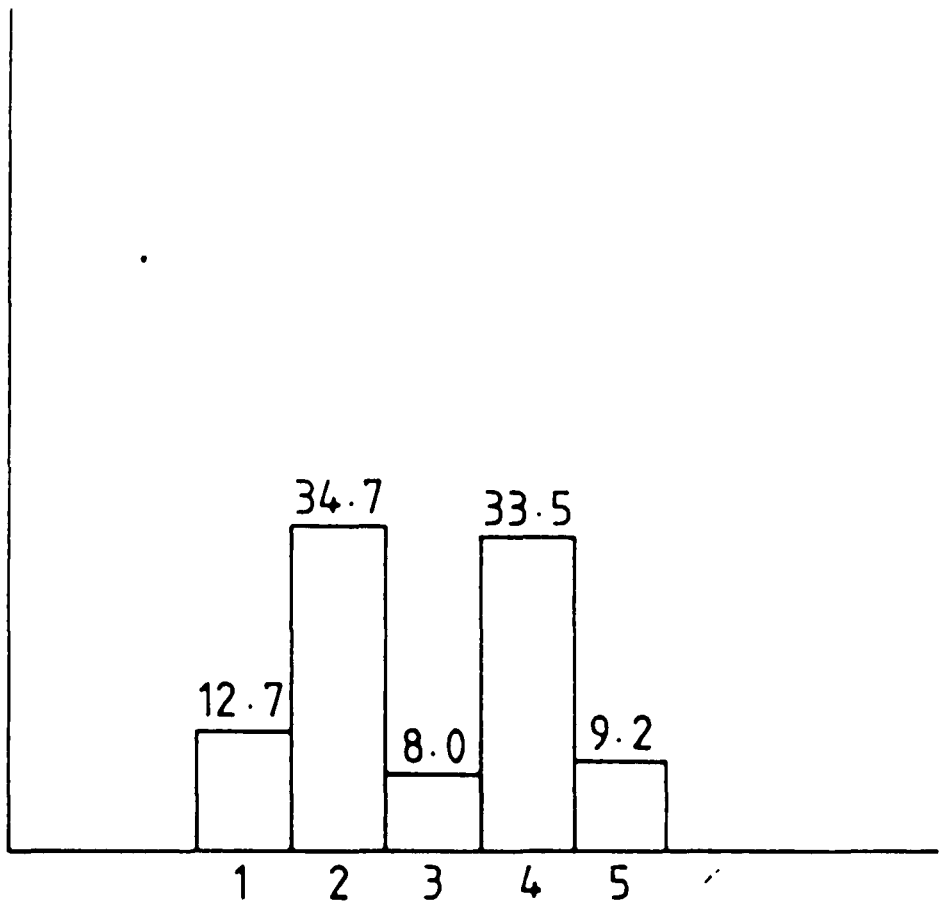
(WEUR)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	YES	70
2	NO	160
9		21

If Yes, where

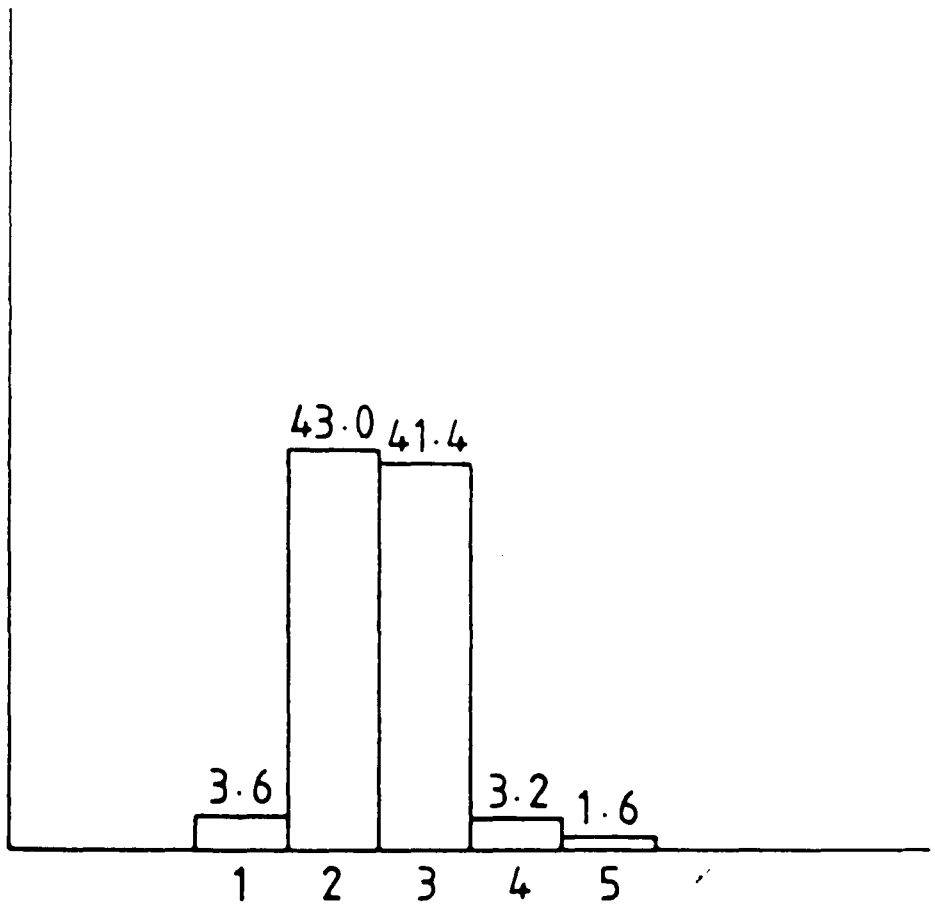
(WHERE)

VALUE		FREQUENCY
1	EEC	44
2	non-EEC	9
3	East-Europe	7
0		179
9		12



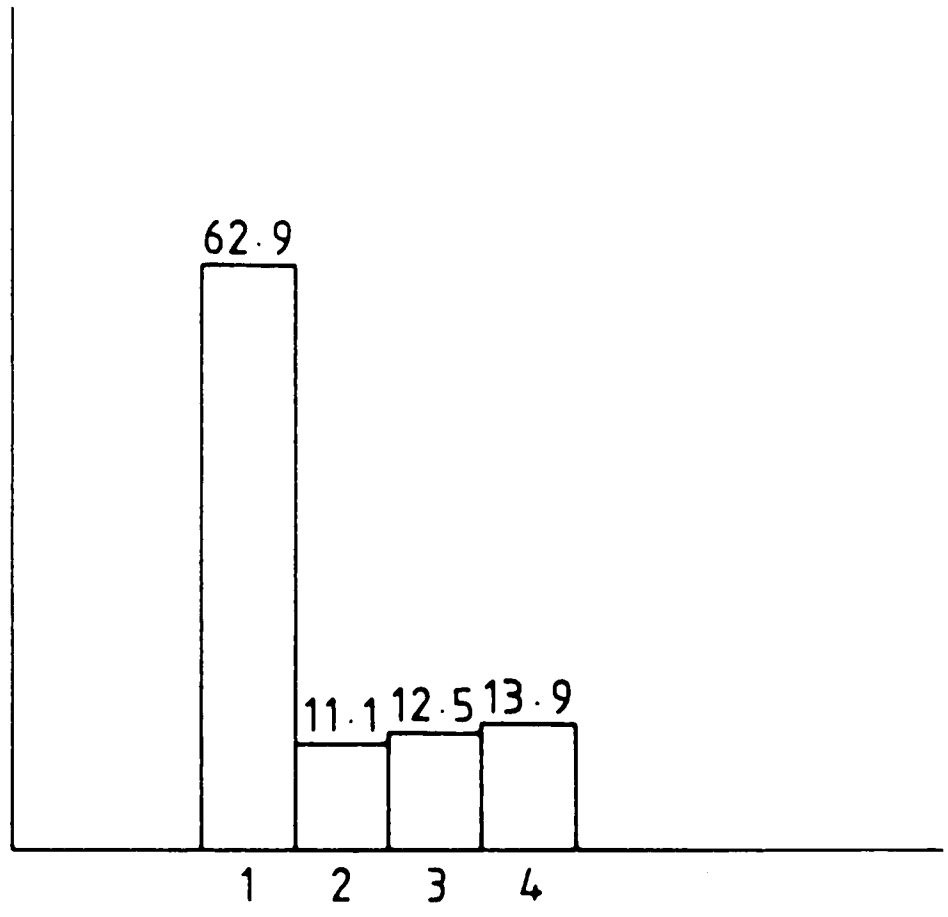
1. Engineers
2. Administrative staff
3. Non-admin. staff
4. Technical staff
5. Others

Figure 4.6: Job-description respondents



1. School
2. High school/College
3. University
4. Postgraduate
5. Other

Figure 4.7: Educational Background respondents



1. Seminars
2. Management/Computing
3. Sabbatical leave
4. Studying in telecommunications school

Figure 4.8: Responses to nature of training by HTO.

Job-description	Do you think that your present salary corresponds to you work load? YES	NO
Engineers	31.0	69.0
Administrative staff	36.6	63.4
Non-admin. staff	25.0	75.0
Technical staff	17.5	82.5
Others	36.4	63.6

Table 16: A comparison of distribution between job-description and salary levels.

Job-description	Do you think that productivity-related pay schemes should be implemented. YES	NO
Engineers	78.1	21.9
Administrative staff	52.9	47.1
Non-admin. staff	70.0	30.0
Technical staff	51.2	48.8
Others	72.7	27.3

Table 17: A comparison of responses between job-description and implementation of productivity systems.

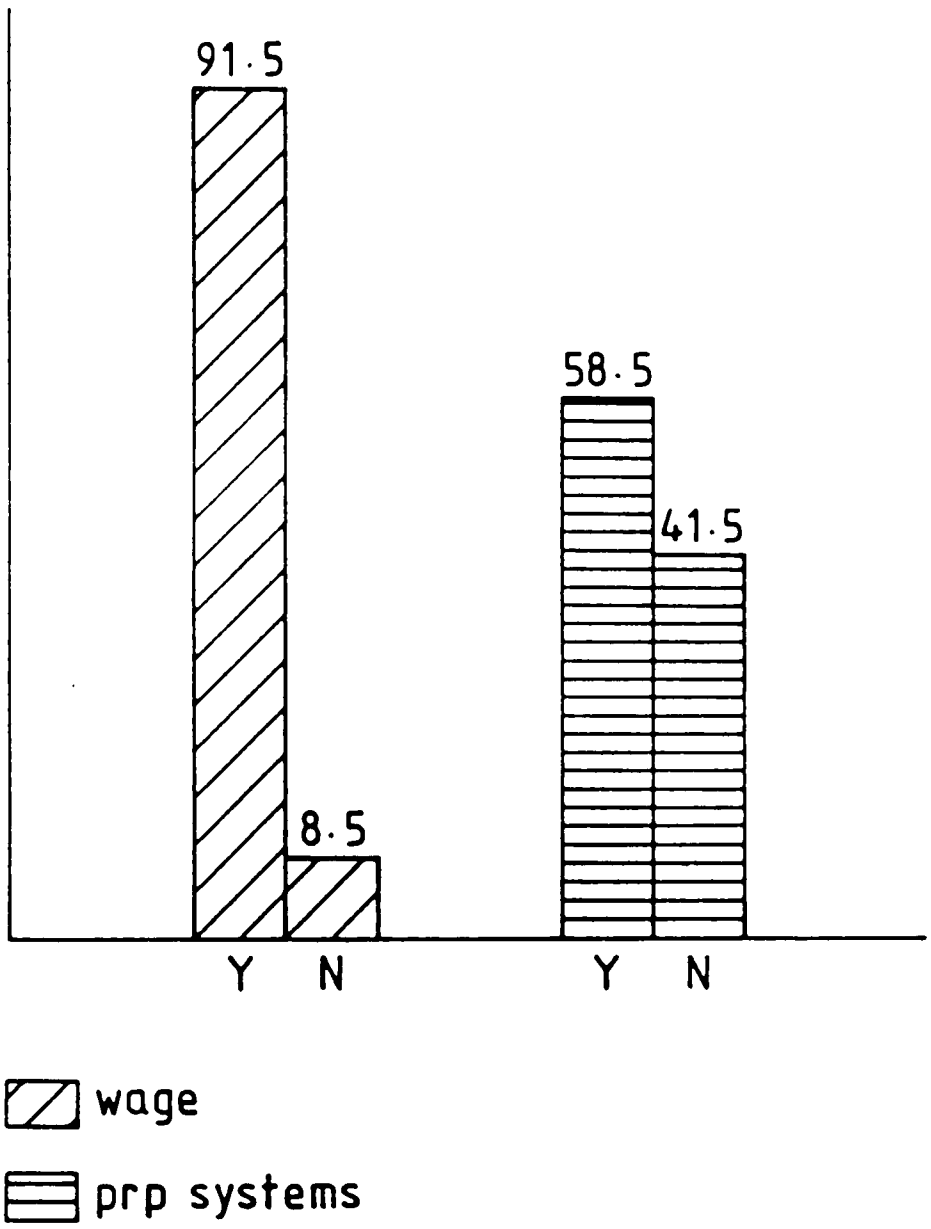
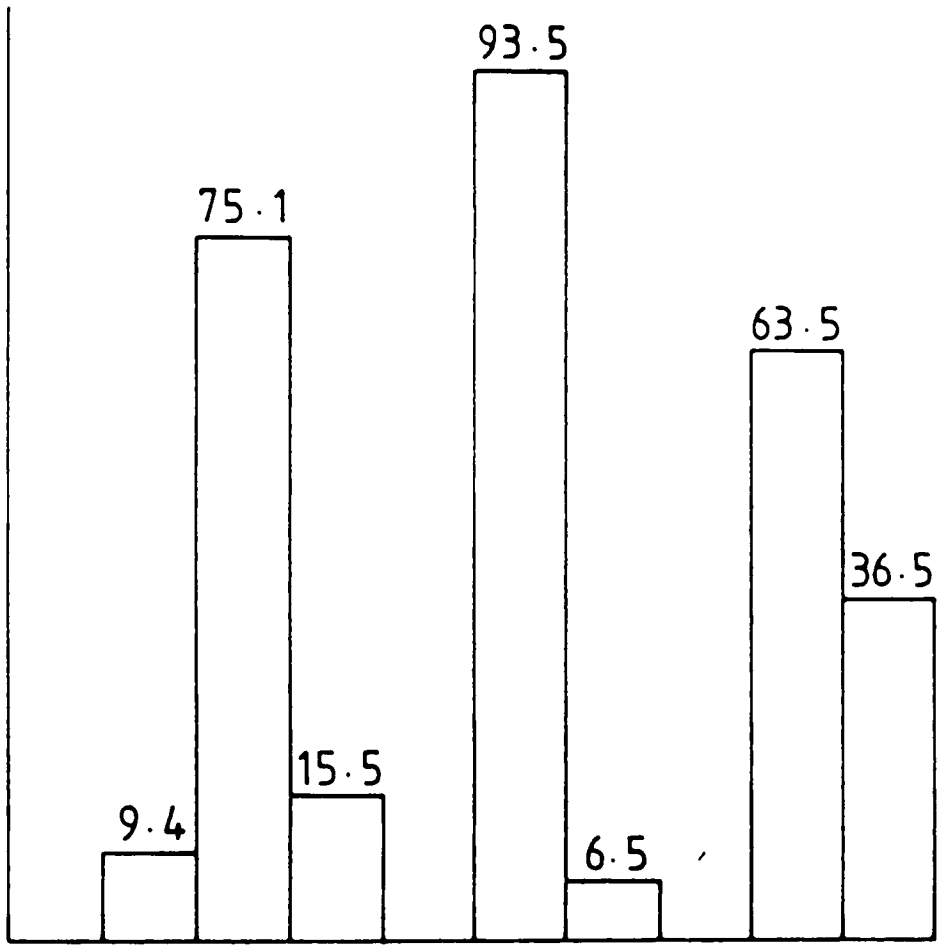


Figure 4.9: Responses to wage-indexation and introduction of productivity related pay systems.

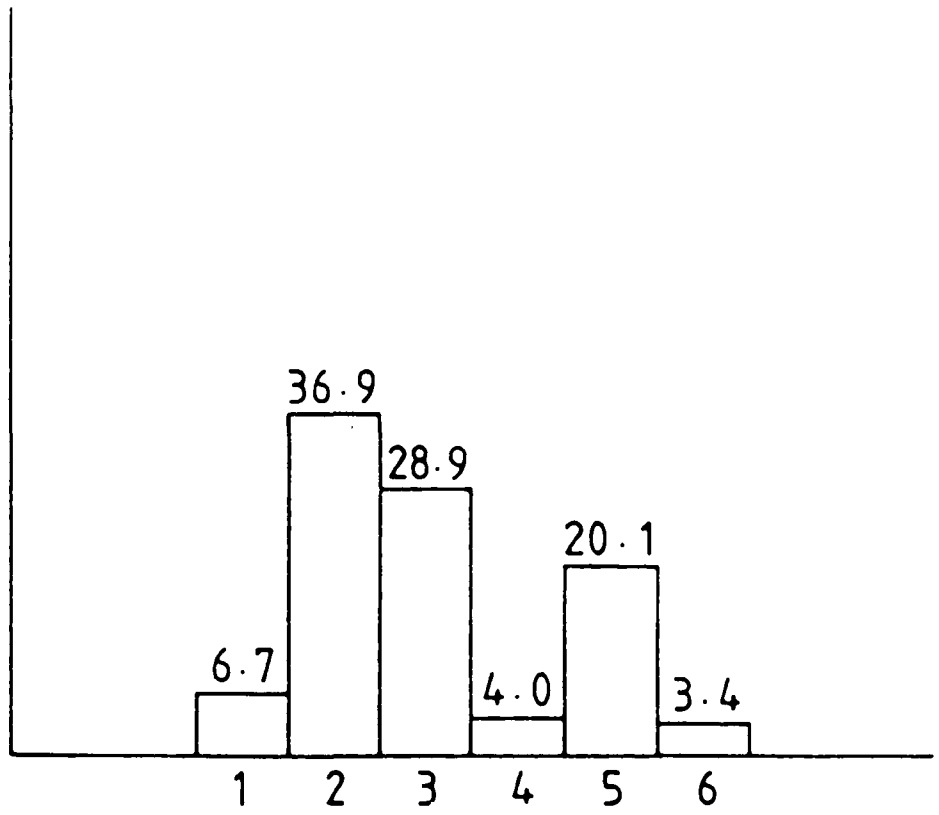


Reading from left to right: To what extent are you satisfied with your present job?

Do you think that working conditions should be improved?

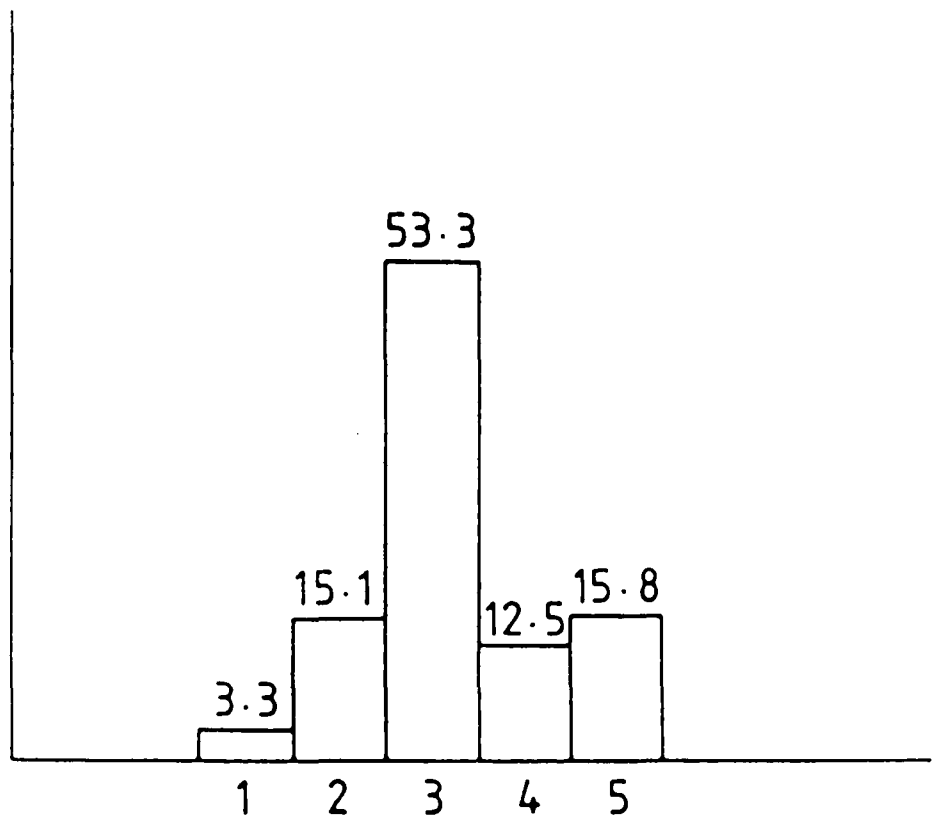
Do you have job-related problems?

Figure 4.10: A comparison of responses to three job-related questions.



1. Promotions/Hierarchy
2. Place of Work
3. Equipment
4. Less Bureaucracy
5. Better organisation
6. Hours of work

Figure 4.11: Responses to how working conditions may be improved.



1. Relations with workmates
2. Relations with supervisor
3. Place of work
4. Personal/other reasons
5. All

Figure 4.12: Responses to problems at work

Improvement of working conditions	Solution of problems	
	YES	NO
YES (93.5)	33.9	16.1
NO (6.5)	-	-

Table 18: Comparison of attitudes relating to whether working conditions should be improved and resolution of major work problems.

	If you have problems at work are these related to any of the following?				
Job-description	Relations with workmates	Relations with supervisor	Place of work	Pressure	All other reasons
Engineers	+	+	-	-	-
Admin. staff	-	+	+	-	+
Non-admin. staff	-	-	+	-	+
Technical staff	-	+	+	-	+

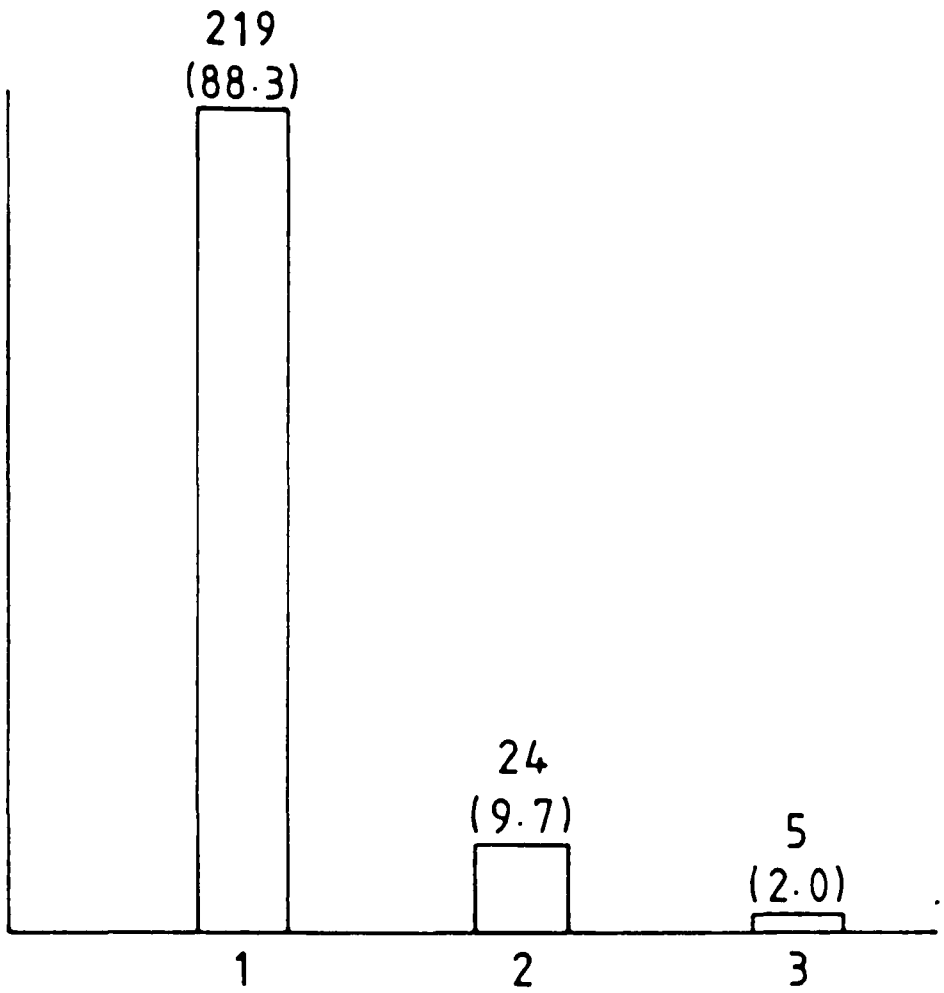
Table 19: Job-description differences in identification of work-related problems.

GENDER	Do you have job-related problems? YES	NO
Male	62.7	37.3
Female	66.7	33.3

Table 20: Gender differences in job-related problems

	Job-related problems			
	Relations with super-visor	Place of work	Pressure	All other reasons
Gender				
Male	10.6	55.3	14.6	19.5
Female	35.7	42.9	3.6	17.9

Table 21: Gender differences in identification of major job-related problems.



1. Always

2. Often

3. Never

Figure 4.13: Distribution of union voters.

	Do you think that working conditions should be improved?	
Gender	YES	NO
Male	92.0	8.0
Female	100.0	-

Table 22: Gender responses to improvement of working conditions.

Vote for union	Attendance of union meetings		
	Always	Often	Never
Always (88.3)	53.1	33.3	13.6
Often (9.7)	4.2	70.8	25.0

Table 23: A comparison of distribution of union voters and union participation.

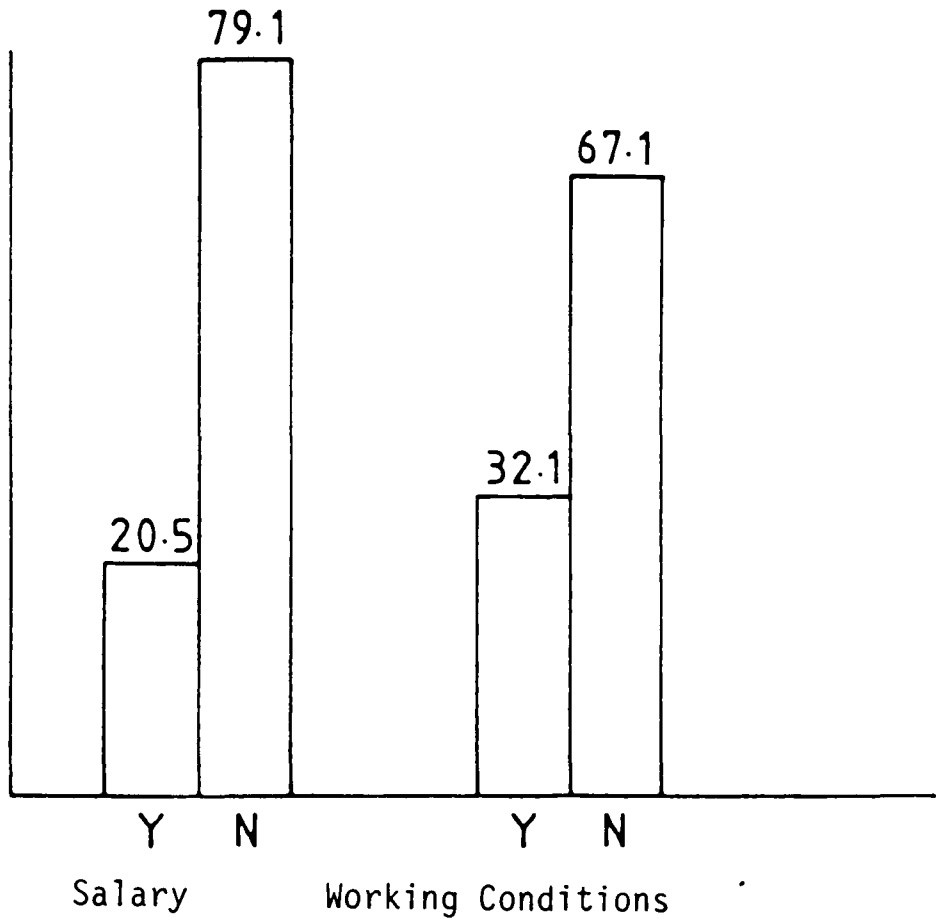


Figure 4.14: Responses to whether RCSC has helped in improvement of salary and working conditions respectively.

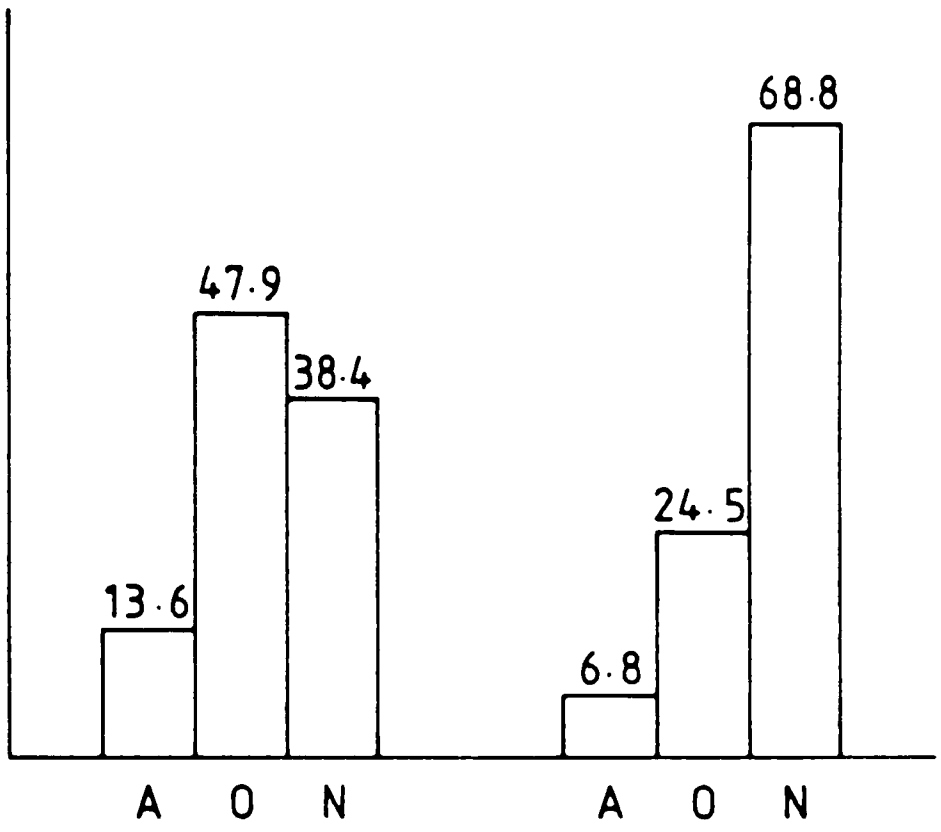


Figure 4.15: Responses to whether employees get information about RCSC meetings and consultation by their RCSC representative respectively.

Do you have job-related problems?	Do you think the union can help to resolve those problems?	
	Yes	No
Yes (61.8)	83.5	16.5
No (35.5)	81.8	18.2

Table 24: Responses to likelihood of union's ability to resolve problems at work.

Job-description	Do you think that RCSC's helped in improving your salary/working conditions	
	Yes	No
Engineers (12.7)	11.1/21.4	88.9/78.6
Administrative staff (34.7)	19.8/29.6	80.2/70.4
Non-administrative staff (11.1)	22.5/38.5	77.5/61.5)
Technical staff (33.5)	25.0/38.0	75.0/62.0

Table 25: A comparison of distribution of job-description by participation system in relation to major work issues.

Job-description	Do you get information about RCSC meetings?		
	Always	Often	Never
Engineers	6.3	43.8	50.0
Administrative staff	16.7	52.4	31.0
Non-administrative staf	5.3	42.1	52.6
Technical staff	17.5	43.8	38.8
Others	8.7	60.9	30.4

Table 26: Distribution of responses by job-description and RCSC information.

Job-description	Does your RCSC representative consult you before meetings?		
	Always	Often	Never
Engineers	3.3	26.7	70.0
Administrative staff	4.9	25.9	69.1
Non-administrative staff	5.6	33.3	66.7
Technical staff	11.1	22.2	66.7
Others	4.5	18.2	77.3

Table 27: Distribution of responses by job-description and RCSC representative consultation.

Do you get information about RCSC meetings?	Does your RCSC representative consult you before meetings?		
	Always	Often	Never
Always	40.6	34.4	25.0
Often	2.8	35.8	61.5
Never	-	6.5	93.5

Table 28: Comparison of distribution in relation to RCSC information and consultation.

Gender	Do you think that RCSC helped in improving your salary/working conditions?	
	Yes	No
Male	22.3/34.2	77.2/65.8
Female	12.5/24.4	87.5/75.6

Table 29: Gender attitudes to participation system.

Gender	Does your RCSC representative consult you before meetings?		
	Always	Often	Never
Male	8.2	25.3	66.5
Female	-	21.4	78.6

Table 30: Gender differences to RCSC representative consultation.

Gender	Do you get information about RCSC meetings?		
	Always	Often	Never
Male	14.5	47.0	38.5
Female	9.8	51.2	39.0

Table 31: Gender differences to RCSC information

Gender	Do you think that you should participate in the decision-making process?	
	Yes	No
Male	95.0	5.0
Female	100.0	-

Table 32: Attitudes to workers' participation.

Do you think that you should participate in the decision-making process?	Do you get information about RCSC meetings?		
	Always	Often	Never
Yes (95.9)	14.0	49.6	36.4
No (4.1)	-	20.0	80.0

Table 33: Comparison of responses to workers' participation and RCSC information.

Gender	Does your supervisor consult you before any decision is taken?		
	Always	Often	Never
Male	7.1	48.2	44.7
Female	10.8	27.0	62.2

Table 34: Gender differences in supervisor consultation.

Job description	Consultation by supervisor		
	Always	Often	Never
Engineers	12.9	71.0	16.1
Administration staff	5.1	50.6	44.3
Non-administrative staff	16.7	22.2	61.1
Technical staff	6.0	40.5	53.6

Table 35: Distribution by job-description and supervisor consultation.

Educational Background	Consultation by supervisor		
	Always	Often	Never
High school/college (43.0)	5.3	32.5	62.3
University (41.4)	10.6	57.7	31.7

Table 36: Distribution of education by supervisor consultation.

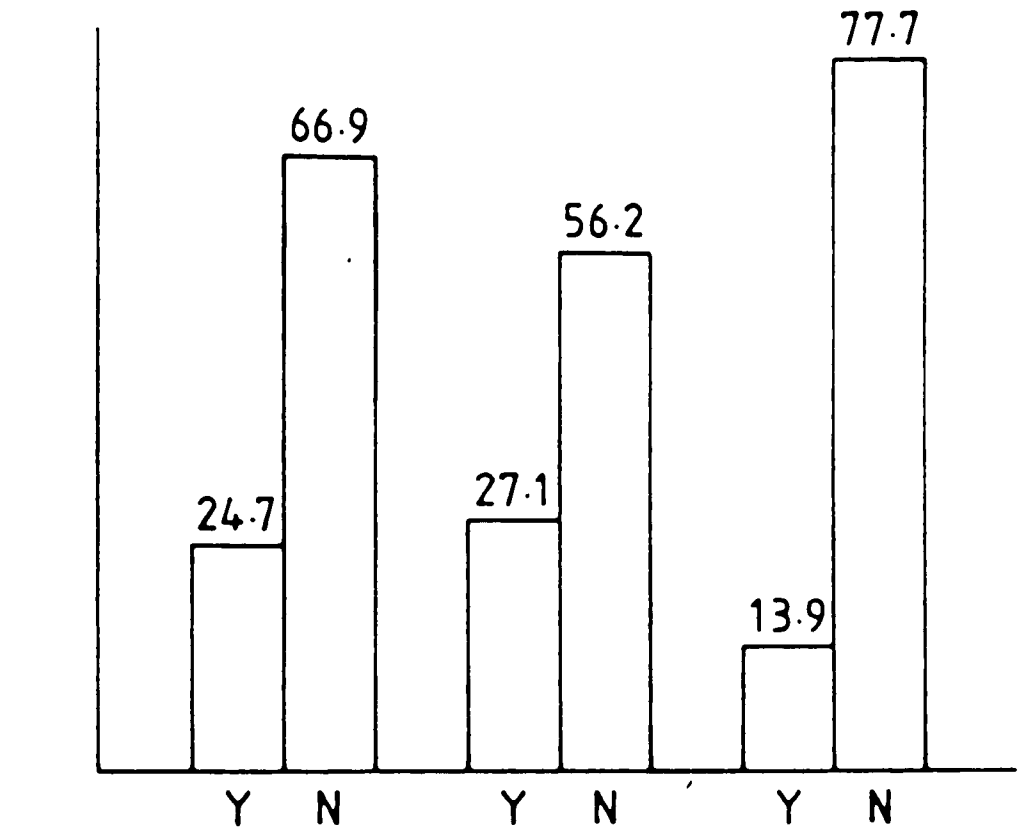


Figure 4.16: Responses to health/welfare, pregnancy and holiday provisions respectively.

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41. In relation to HTO's general manager, there were demands for his resignation even before his involvement in the affair, because of his misconduct towards workers' representatives and other union officials. One week prior to his imprisonment, he was nowhere to be found after having used a weapon to threaten journalists who had gone to interview him about HTO's financial involvement with the Bank of Crete (PROTI, 7 March 1989).

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CHAPTER 5

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN HTO : A REVIEW OF THE ISSUES AND SOME FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that the question of industrial relations and workers' participation in HTO is related to the wider conditions of Greek social and economic development.

In chapter 3 the main characteristics of the Greek social formation were analysed, bearing in mind the peculiarities and specificities which have influenced the whole process. Chapter 4 was concerned with the analysis of the Telecommunications sector in relation to its 'internal' functions and its particular economic indices. The 'institutionalisation' of industrial relations and participation in the industry was also discussed and the survey evidence illustrated employees' reactions to the whole system. The conflict between 'workers' participation' in HTO and the specific forms of Greek development (in terms of the articulation of the state, economic dependency and political power), is one of the most important and dominant aspects of the debate. Although participatory mechanisms were, to some extent, introduced they were directly and indirectly blocked by management and government. In this sense, the problems associated with the promotion of participation in HTO (and more generally in the public and private sectors), are related to the political discourse.

At the same time and in view of the current economic crisis that is facing Greece, the question of workers' participation per se, seems trivial. The problems of the long term 'underdeveloped development' of Greece, strongly relate to its position in the international division of labour, the development of its industry, and a variety of other social, economic and political factors, some of them discussed earlier. The development of industrial relations and workers' participation practices is only an 'instance' in the 'whole' of the social and economic formation of Greece. The survey results indicated that issue, clearly. On the one hand, employees wanted more participation (although in many cases they did not have a clear idea of how it will be achieved) and, on the other, they saw it did not work in its present form and in consequence, most thought that it is important to achieve wider political and social changes first.

The long-term conflict between labour and capital has been predominantly concerned with wage increases because that was the main problem facing employees. Therefore, it was really not until the 1980's that the concepts of 'industrial relations' and 'workers' participation' appeared.

However, as we have argued in chapter 1, at least in terms of theoretical evaluations, the concept of 'labour relations' as a whole does not answer a number of important questions. The appearance and development of a variety of 'industrial relations' techniques amongst different nations (see chapter 2) is so complex

and a result of a multiplicity of social, political and economic factors. As a consequence it is impossible to understand those processes in terms of preconceived ideas. The criteria under which industrial relations manifestations had been, up till now, examined by Industrial Relations, were pre-given and rigid. They were based on beliefs that advocated, more or less, unilinear structures and systems across the board. They were also based on a profoundly misconceived idea that labour relations are at the centre of social and political discourse, instead of looking at the matter in terms of simply it being a part of a larger formation. At the same time many labour relations (and workers' participation) studies, following on from the above two presuppositions, related the whole debate to notions of classification of 'the working class' and of labour in general.

In these terms, labour becomes something that is continuously measured, again in relation to preconceived terms, such as 'job-satisfaction', 'motivation to work', 'instrumental norms' and also in terms of 'confrontation' as opposed to 'consensus' (the debate on 'change' and/or 'continuity' in the labour process is an example of that type of approach). Finally, Industrial Relations has been concerned with establishing links between ideologically derived beliefs (and their subsequent 'systems') and of 'good' workers' participation systems which enhance the democratic process, as opposed to 'bad' ones which do not. These ideologically derived formulations are not enough any more. The practice of Industrial Relations itself and of the manufacturing of categories and theorems constitutes a social practice which is dominated by specific political and ideological prescriptions. In this sense, dominant evaluations and analyses of labour relations practices (and their

classification) do not only produce 'facts'. They produce and reproduce an 'ideology' which elevates categories of classification into 'objective' social evaluations. However, that sort of 'objectivity' is becoming doubtful.

In the previous chapters, the whole area of industrial relations in connection to wider societal mechanisms was examined, both in terms of the factors that influence its general development, and in relation to the characteristic elements that are dominant in HTO. But, as we have seen, (Chapter 1) explanations of the conditions that influence industrial relations (and/or societal development) have to be closely scrutinized and re-evaluated. The notions of 'Fordism', 'core', 'periphery', etc. are also classifications of social reality and have to remain open as explanatory theories of a part of that reality. In this sense, no generalisations can be made through the use of singular theoretical constructions when explanations of particular societal formations are sought. Consequently, explanations of labour relations in Greece cannot be facilitated through the sole use of concepts such as the 'semi-periphery' or 'Fordism'. Having evaluated the problem of industrial relations in terms of the different 'external' and 'internal' spheres of determination, the whole question was also examined in connection to a specific form of social and economic development (i.e. Greece) and its subsequent effects on HTO's organization. However, the issues related to industrial relations as a whole are directly linked to the specific conditions that characterize the processes of 'work', 'employment', 'unionization' etc. and their relations to the general domain of societal

relations. Therefore, this chapter illustrates the nature of the issues by briefly identifying the two general frameworks of investigation. The first is related to an examination of the underlying societal mechanisms that resulted from the particular direction of Greek development, and which play an important role in determining labour relations as a whole. The second framework of investigation briefly synthesizes some of the previous discussion and locates Greece into the Southern European and EEC context in order to identify possible similarities and differences.

5.2 'Revisiting' HTO and some other considerations (i)

As we have indicated there are two general macro-categories through which the processes that have influenced the articulation of labour relations and workers' participation in HTO can be identified.

The first is related to those factors that are not directly connected to the telecommunications industry, but which are important in shaping the foundation of the economy and as a consequence have an impact on the development of the industry and of industrial relations.

The second has to do with those factors that are more closely linked to the industry and its affairs and play a more or less direct role in shaping labour relations.

In these terms, the first set of factors is generally associated with a number of issues identified in chapters 1 and 3. That is, the growing interdependence of the world economy and the location of Greece in that economic and political formation.

This primary set of issues is a very important aspect which influences labour relations in any national context and as a consequence in any particular industrial context.

The Greek economy and in particular the industries belonging to the public sector are going through a state of economic crisis. The symptoms associated with this prolonged crisis are closely related to fiscal and monetary problems, inflation and unemployment and also to the infrastructural 'no-development' situation which is characteristic of an industry such as HTO.

Despite these circumstances, the Greek economy as a whole is an organic part of the international division of labour and of the organisational and institutional framework, such as the EEC which is part and parcel of that division of labour.

On top of that the basic constituent parts of the economy have proven to be, if not sufficiently at least partly, quite adaptable to the changing international economic order.

However, as we have seen in chapter 3 (see also below) in order for the Greek economy to adapt to the changing circumstances a number of important social and political alterations have had to take place (and indeed are still taking place).

This brings us to the second set of factors associated with the industrial setting in question.

There can be no doubt that the telecommunications sector is an important part of the Greek economy and because of the international movement towards high-technology, will continue to play this role. However, as we have identified in chapter 4, the industry is faced with a series of major financial and infrastructural problems. At the same time, the political transformation which was attempted in the years 1981-1985 with the introduction of a new coherent legislative framework of industrial relations and workers' participation, has not worked. The reasons behind the apparent failure of the system are complex. They are nevertheless, linked to both the global and the national conditions which characterise Greek development.

One of the major points which became apparent during the survey period, is that explanations of organisation structures have to be sought amongst those factors that determine the formation of the structures themselves. Let us briefly take up that particular issue again:

1. As we saw in chapter 3, the post-war development of Greece has had, for obvious reasons, a clear impact on the state of capital labour relations and has helped to shape contemporary industrial relations.
2. From a global perspective, the location of Greece in the international division of labour is as we have seen an equally important reason for the present state of labour relations.

3. The above two factors combined created certain particular parameters which characterise the nature of Greek economic development and as a consequence of the public sector and HTO. These are mainly linked to the low degree of development of many industries, the augmented public sector, serious infrastructural problems, inefficiency, wasting of resources and low levels of investment, low productivity, unorthodox decision-making and bad management, serious problems with respect to labour relations, etc.

4. The above parameters examined also in the previous chapters (3 and 4) can be very briefly synthesized into the two notions of dependency and the state.

5. At the same time, there are important national/local characteristics which although they are related to the above, also exist as autonomous contingencies (see also later in chapter). These have to do with the specific nature of the industrialisation process and the social and political transformation that it produced.

6. There are a few examples which illustrate the impact of the above: firstly, the population movement into the growing urban areas (in the 1950's and 1960's) and alongside that the increase in volume of the public sector which produced a sense of relative wealth and security amongst employees. Secondly, the fact that the labour force manages to improve its standards of living produces a vital, economic break with previous generations. The role of the state is crucial in protecting and reproducing, at least in parts, this economic transformation. At the same time, however, the residue of the past still remains, if not in economic, at least in

ideological, social and (especially important) political terms. Popular feelings in favour of wider and deeper democratisation become increasingly exacerbated especially after the restoration of democracy in the 1970's. Trade unions became strong and mobilised their members on the basis of pure political messages (anti-imperialist, for national independence, etc). Labour relations deteriorated in the late 1970's and the first socialist government was elected in 1981 on the basis of a growing popular feeling in favour of national social, political and economic change. Nevertheless, as we saw in chapters 3 and 4 the residual nature of the political process did not radically alter.

7. Returning to the role of the state, it must be clearly stated that it played a predominant role in the regulation of economic activity throughout the post-war years. It is also a vital link in the articulation of social and political relations and as a consequence of paramount importance in determining the characteristics of industrial relations and workers' participation in the public sector industries.

8. In historical terms these processes of social and political transformation did not occur through the use of radical means. There was no 'industrial revolution' which would also necessitate society to find alternative ways of conducting labour relations and which would introduce radically new working techniques. The relatively rapid industrialization of the post-war period, occurring in a non-homogeneous and relatively unplanned way did not incorporate different systems of labour relations. In fact, trade unions were repressed until the restoration of democracy in 1974.

9. That is clearly indicated in the 'micro-world' of HTO. The national idea of bringing in the legislative measures for workers' participation and trying to create a better environment for the development of labour relations in the years 1981-1985, had to co-exist with all the social, economic and political residues of the past. These included the traditional forms of labour organisation in Greece and in HTO, and the fact that in political terms the government itself was not ready to change the usual practices of conducting industrial affairs, for a variety of reasons which are also related to the background and specific nature of PASOK itself.

10. In this sense the establishment of workers' participation in the main nationalised industries could be said to contradict the traditionally established forms and techniques of administration. As we have indicated in earlier chapters 'workers' participation' did not just mean the establishment of joint consultation committees. In the years immediately prior to the election of PASOK to power in 1981 and up to 1985, it meant for a great number of trade unionists and employees, the establishment of an alternative way of managing the affairs of industry which would take into consideration the needs of the nation as a whole (thus the notion of a 'socialised' public sector). Therefore the notion was closely linked to more democracy at work, more rights for employees, and it was incorporated into the idea of an independent path of economic development for Greece as a whole. Consequently, the notion included from its origins a distinctly political meaning. In

order for workers' participation to work the political administration of the country as a whole had to change.

11. However, the main chacteristics of the Greek political and economic formation did not radically change during the 1980's. The government did not attempt a drastic re-organisation of the socio-economic infrastructure which would include a fresh start on the institutions that govern labour relations. Also, as we have already seen the public sector industries continued to function along the controversial path of weak and inadequate infrastructure, and in the case of HTO, continuous rows over outmoded equipment and failure to meet modern telecommunications standards on any level.

12. During that period and especially after 1985, the government tightened its grip on HTO and attempted to be the sole decision-maker of the industry's economic affairs. But, since the system of workers' participation had already been introduced, the government tried to squeeze out employees' discontent by in effect changing part of the regulatory mechanisms which set the system in motion. The government also intervened through its appointed management team : they simply refused to cooperate at the RCSC meetings and all decisions were effectively taken by the top director. Therefore, not only was the aim of better labour relations not achieved, but there was also a distinct worsening of the situation and, as we have seen (see chapter 4), it was reflected in the reaction of employees towards the system of 'workers' participation'.

In general terms therefore the attempt to bring about a new coherent framework of industrial relations that would incorporate workers' participation was unsuccessful. Power and control of HTO's affairs were not diffused to the workforce.

That was the result of a number of 'external and internal' factors as we have previously indicated. The system itself, although it was a main component of the government's policy (and it became law), was substantially undermined.

And of course it is impossible to estimate how the situation would be if it had functioned. Rather, the facts point out that it would never have worked as planned because of the given circumstances.

The most basic reasons are twofold and they are worth repeating : firstly, in the contemporary climate of globalisation and growing interdependence, labour relations and workers' participation cannot be achieved through the implementation of a legislative framework by one government alone. Contemporary capital-labour relations are shaped by the dynamic interrelations of the 'local' and the 'global' where the former is incorporated into the latter and the latter is fused into the former thus making it difficult (if not impossible in some cases) for any absolutely independent control of development and decision-making to take place.

Secondly, the 'local'-'internal' social and political circumstances and specificities have been important factors in

deciding the fate of Greek industrial relations. It is this aspect of the situation that we turn our attention to in the next part of this chapter.

5.3 'Revisiting' HTO and some other considerations (2)

The question of HTO's development (as with the rest of the public sector) is a complex social and political problem. As we have seen, the main parameters that illustrate the nature of the problem are related to a whole series of economic and political issues. In general, there are no serious doubts on the problems the economy is facing: 'Independent economists estimate Greece's budget deficit will hit two million drachmas (£7.6bn) in 1989, or close to 22 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product. While budget deficit grows in leaps and bounds, so too does Greece's overall debt. It is expected to exceed 8.7 million drachmas (£32 bn) this year, easily exceeding the country's entire GDP for 1989'.[1]

At the same time, 14% inflation and a well-established black economy (estimated recently at 35-40 per cent of GDP), together with widespread tax evasion define the general character of the problem. HTO, the public sector and industrial relations, have been a component of the whole configuration. In general, the influential role of the state in the economy has to be evaluated in close relation to the issues we examined in the previous chapter. Since the state controls most of the economy and industry, its functioning determines the general development of Greece. The issues related to

HTO (wages, productivity, industrial participation, working environment, etc) are reproduced in other parts of the public and private sectors. As we saw earlier, the state is involved in directing all the major Greek industries. Even parts of the private sector 'live off' the state. The continuous problems of state support to the 'problematic' firms (these are private firms, taken over by the state when they run into trouble) which would otherwise declare bankruptcy, and the support to the investment programmes of the private sector through low interest loan rates, also indicate the nature of the problem. Therefore, it is obvious that industrial relations, as a whole, is submerged into the economic and political mechanisms described earlier.

The changes that occurred during the 1980's in connection to the regulatory systems that govern industrial relations and workers' participation, have had the results illustrated in chapter 4, because the major 'syndromes' of the Greek economy and of state organisation remained basically unchanged.

The survey of HTO and the results showed that in general, irrespective of work status, similar problems were raised by most employees. It is, however, important to note that most employees recognised as the basic problem that of political choices taken by the government and the state. That attitude was reflected in the unions' approach to the main issues. In HTO, the Confederation of Telecommunications Employees exerted strong criticism and pressure on the government over its economic policy and the stance it took with regard to workers' participation. Between 1988 and 1989, the unions pushed for the removal of the company's General Manager

because of his involvement in the financial and political scandal. In fact, in political terms the matter became very serious : 'There is a joke in Greece that for every telephone call made by a politician, journalist or government official since 1985, there exist three monitors recordings. One at the Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation, at which a sophisticated telephone tapping centre was allegedly discovered recently, and one in the possession of each of the speakers, who deliberately taped the conversation for future possible use against each other ... the monitoring would not have been possible without the technical network of the state-run Telecommunications Corporation, which fell under the aegis of Mr. Theofanis Tombras ... Mr. Tombras, whom the Greek press insist on calling "Mr. Bug", has denied accusations that he was in charge of monitoring private telephone calls. However, before the Socialists' electoral defeat in June, he publicly said he would personally sell potentially damaging cassettes of recorded telephone conversations between politicians should he ever be threatened with jail over the issue.'[2]

The apparent contradiction between the institutional framework which the government itself instigated in relation to industrial democracy and participation, and what actually happened, is not very easy to explain. On the one hand, management was calling for the unions' support in deepening the processes of industrial democracy and on the other, the institutions of industrial participation were directly and indirectly undermined. At the time of the survey, the unions were facing the problem of how to react to 'informal' activities within a 'formal' framework. The 1988 conference of the Confederation of Telecommunication Employees[3] is a typical example

of that problem. Although there was general agreement amongst the delegates on the nature of the problems, it was very difficult to set a course of action (apart from striking, the only option left) because management and government undermined the whole framework of industrial relations. One after another delegates mentioned the range of problems, some of which we have already described: 'The major characteristic of HTO is extreme centralization and its control by the government. The General Manager should resign immediately. What does the government say? Only words of support. The problems are too numerous to mention and things are getting worse. We have to continue fighting and find new ways to develop the movement.'[4]

The political problem of the dichotomy between 'what was said' and 'what was done' is a characteristic phenomenon not only of relations within HTO, but also of social relations as a whole. In fact, it proves to be one of the most important elements of the debate around industrial relations issues. The essence of the articulation of relations in HTO, is not only connected to the problems that were apparent and undisputed. The dichotomy between formal and informal activities is a very real problem which has a profound impact on industrial relations and which cannot be explained in the usual terms of Industrial Relations theory. On the one hand, informal activities are related to the economic domain of public life. As we have seen, such activities are reported to form a substantial part of the economy as a whole. On the other hand, these activities also form part of a wider societal process which determines the way things 'ought to be done'. In these terms, the state 'reinforces' the reproduction of the informal sector and

that must play a stabilising role in the formation of the economy and of society in general. This problem is repeated in the political domain. In other words, the effect of the informal sector transcends the formal institutions of society. Consequently, it is not paradoxical that in HTO we have the appearance of such types of activity within the system of industrial relations. The informal and formal 'institutions' run not as opposites but rather as complementary to each other.

However, this issue cannot be expressed in statistical indices or classificatory terms, and that is one of the major problems of explanation. The workers' survey examined in the previous chapter, only shows the major determinants of the whole issue : problems of dependency, bureaucracy, institutions that did not work. These are important indications which are also related to the development of society in general. But the nature of work and employment in HTO involved the range of issues we have just touched upon. The 'inability' of unions to react to the problem is an indication that they too belong to the wider social formation and as such they also have underlying tendencies to 'reinforce' the already existing patterns.

In these terms, the fact that most workers and unions spoke in terms of political changes occurring before valid shifts can be made in the structure of industrial relations and participation does not only reflect the apparent 'reality' of a system which does not work. Although the dominant 'state of affairs' is strongly disputed, it is

at the same time consolidated upon and taken advantage of not only by the state and government, but also by parts of the labour force itself.

Therefore, underneath the already complex framework of economic, financial and industrial relations, there is another layer of societal relations and determinations.

For example, as we have seen HTO employees overwhelmingly saw the union as the major force which represented their interests. Trade Unionism as a whole is still very strong in Greece, in terms of mobilisation and union participation. This can be partly explained in terms of the unions' traditions and their role in the Greek social formation as a whole. The unions have adopted the language of politics and ideology (since they are closely linked to political parties), challenging the government while trying to improve salary levels. In this sense, unions have in ideological terms consistently challenged capital-labour relations, but in political terms the confrontation was expressed in terms of securing a reasonable standard of living. The ideological 'unwillingness' to accept the dominant relations of production, translated into the most common union activity : striking for pay increases. Consequently, although the environment for trade union activity has been difficult over the past few years (anti-union laws, government interference, etc) the unions survived and membership remained, more or less, stable. The government's laws in relation to trade unionism did not achieve the destabilisation of union activity. At the same time, unions only managed to mobilise the majority of the workforce when wage negotiations were disputed. In this sense,

there is a wide discrepancy between the 'challenge' of class relations traditionally expressed by the union movement and the reality of political relations. An interesting indication of this issue is that the 'class-based' political language utilised by the unions (a language which belongs to the Left) and which mobilised so many people, has not been translated into votes for the political parties of the Left. The dichotomy between the 'formal' and the 'informal' is therefore found within the area of unionisation.[5] Under these circumstances, the issue of unionisation in the public sector cannot be examined only in terms of union response to the current problems of industrial democracy.

As we saw in chapter 3, the nature of the employment relationship between 'state-employer' and 'state-employee' requires an alternative evaluation of the whole problem. The conflict expressed through unionisation does not challenge the position of the state (as a whole) as a regulatory mechanism for the organisation of the public sector. To challenge the government is not the same as challenging the role of the state. This is why the whole political question in HTO was expressed in grievance terms against the government, although the language of class opposition was used. That also coincides with the issue of formal and informal activities. In economic terms many HTO employees had various other sources of income. One employee said that the survey should include questions on 'other sources of income' and added that probably no-one would answer it anyway. We were able to discover, however, two employees who indicated that they had such sources. One was a relatively low-paid clerical worker who also owned a taxi and a lorry and claimed to be well-off. The other was an engineer who did

not disclose the nature of his other job. There is no doubt that there are many more similar examples.

Consequently, the whole system of wage-relations bears close relationship to the informal sector, since the latter influences the position of employees in relation to the former and subsequently determines their 'ideological' and political affiliations. Workers do not only regard themselves as individuals with a particular position in the industry, but also as persons with interests outside the industry which are, nevertheless, closely linked to the general policies the state and government will take. In this sense the relatively safe position of employment in the public sector, runs parallel to activities not directly related to that position. A consequence of that process is that many people seek employment in the public sector although the general salary levels are lower than those in the private sector.

But a more substantial effect is related to the articulation of the whole area of 'work' and 'employment' itself (in this sense, the position adopted by the majority of employees in relation to problems regarding working conditions in general, i.e. that they will never change if governmental policy does not change, although correct, it nevertheless acts as a 'legitimation' mechanism which justifies their role and activities outside the industry).

It is worth remembering (see chapter 4) that the survey results indicated that almost 29% of the workforce said that the industry was not really in need of their particular qualifications but they were employed there anyway. This is almost one third of the total

sample and probably represents quite accurately the situation in HTO and in the other parts of the public sector. That factor alone indicates the dimensions of the problem. In terms of the position in the labour market of a substantial number of the labour force, employment in HTO may bear no immediate relation to their background be it expressed in terms of 'class' or 'education'. However, the work-force which belongs to that category, is also part of the wider group of workers who are not employed for the same reasons.

In this sense, the employee who did not have an alternative apart from the public sector cannot be apparently distinguished from the one whose employment is a personal choice. They both receive the same wage, are mobilised by unions, have similar rights to welfare. But the link that exists in objective employment terms, does not truly correspond to their own personal position in the industry and in society. The workers who, for example, become employed as a result of a pre-election party political promise cannot be classified in the same terms as the ones who did not. Or, to put it in a different way, the evaluation of these workers in relation to their employment status, has to incorporate a different type of analysis altogether. However, this particular category of workers must be distinguished from the previous category of those who sought employment in HTO as a last resort and because of fear of unemployment (although the two categories may, sometimes, coincide). The main point of similarity is the identification of both sets of workers with some sort of security which employment in HTO, and the public sector, generally guarantee. But, the second category may be

much more 'faithful' to the mechanisms of political obedience. At the same time, the need for both to consolidate their position remains.

Therefore, irrespective of whether employment is related to the 'informal' activities we described earlier, or to positions being filled because of no other option, the social, political and ideological results are very significant in the articulation of the mechanism of industrial democracy.

If we position the categories of 'employment', 'work', 'unionisation' and 'labour relations', in the general context of the 'informalisation' of social life, then they take a different form altogether. In this sense, the analysis of the development of labour relations has to be examined in relation not only to the apparent conditions that shape it (i.e. position of industry in the economy, institutions of industrial participation, forms of unionised activity, etc) but also to the not so easily described social, cultural and political configuration. The issue cannot be evaluated solely in terms of an 'objective' identification of the main factors that led to the existing structures and institutions. The 'rigid' organisational structures that have been reinforced by the state do not automatically prescribe explanations and solutions that will stem from a 'lifting' of those rigidities. Simultaneously, there are serious limitations imposed on the whole system. In this sense, the specific nature of labour relations and employment in HTO is not only a result of the processes we have described in the previous chapter. The industry itself is also a

relatively autonomous 'unit' which carries with it specific economic, social and political interests that press, or align with the government, in order to be protected and reproduced. The same can also be said in relation to the other parts of the public sector.

The development, however, of a particular type of 'organisational behaviour' is not the direct result of the industry itself. It is also the result of the structure of the public sector as a whole and of the fact that it serves as a 'uniting' element which brings together a variety of social and political interests. At each part of the sector there is a continuous 'power game' being enacted, each according to its own specific delineations. In those terms, being 'employed' may have very little to do with the actual parameters of 'work'. 'Employment' becomes a means through which the already existing 'ideological' differences and the dominant political contradictions come into inter-play. The role of the unions is important in this respect since they too reproduce, as we have seen, those patterns. Therefore, every single issue (such as industrial participation) becomes another 'formal' platform through which the politics of 'informalisation' take place. In the case of Greece, the fact that the PASOK government set up the system of participation and later effectively withdrew it without altering its institutional base, indicates the issue. The system of participation functioned (and served the purposes of internal political consumption) together with the continuation of the centralized system of control, bureaucracy, financial scandals, and with the state reinforcing its role as employer. Therefore, the official/formal language of 'democratisation' and of an industry

which would now serve the interests of its employees and the nation, was turned on its head.

The new system which was supposedly the result of political struggle, proved nothing more than another institutional regulation which created another level of confrontation (and conciliation) that did not relate to the immediate problems of the sector. Although the issues were discussed and debated (within the committees and most importantly about the committees) the whole formation of the dominant social and political relations that articulated the industry as a unit, remained untouched. Therefore, all the basic practices did not alter while the systems of labour relations and industrial development were appearing reformed. The dichotomy between political language and reality is immense with the first superseding the second exactly because of the societal conditions which set both in motion. And how could the state, which itself created and reproduced the conditions for the whole scheme of things, run against itself? The conditions which allowed for the specific relationship between 'state-employer' and 'state employee' to form a predominant part of the social and economic domains, with both running against each other while satisfying their interlinked interests (through the unions, the political parties and the government) remain, irrespective of governmental and institutional changes, because they are reproduced at each and every layer of society.

The processes which we described earlier and which characterize the formation of the public sector (and of Greek society in general) are a very influential link in the whole articulation of labour

relations. The position of employees in HTO is not an absolute reflection of their true status in economic, political and ideological terms. That, as we have seen, makes it extremely difficult to reach any 'objective' conclusions about the reality of work and employment in the organization. The system of 'industrial relations' and 'workers' participation', although in a sense autonomous, is nevertheless quite clearly resulting from the whole configuration of societal conflicts and contradictions which lie 'on it' and 'beyond it'. Therefore, the process of industrial democracy is not only determined by the current state of capital-state-labour relations, the degree of unionization and all that it carries with it, existing institutions and/or technological and other innovations, but also by the actual position of those categories in the more general system of social relations.

The issues that we have just touched on are very real expressions of social life. In that sense, the 'informalisation' of political life, the reproduction of ideological domains of discourse amongst the labour force and the fact that HTO, employment and industrial relations, are used by all interested parties in order to reproduce the existing dominance of their respective societal positions (which may be contradictory or aligned), are important 'categorisations' that cannot be directly 'measured' but which require further exploration. HTO's labour force, for example, is not predominantly characterized by the fact that it forms part of the telecommunications sector. By this we mean that all the (usually) used categories of classification and explanation of the position of the workforce within a given system of labour relations are too mono-causal in further explaining the nature of the issue.

In these terms 'ideal-type' categories such as the 'conflict between unions and the state/government', 'deepening industrial democracy', 'rationalising the industry', 'participation in the decision-making process', do not, in themselves, form adequate means for an evaluation of Greek labour relations. That is not to deny the importance of such categories; but they only explore part of the picture.

The constituent members of HTO though, are not singularly influenced by the development of those categories. That is, their position in the social formation is also characterised by a variety of non-organisationally linked activities. The multiplicity of roles that employees undertake (economic, political, etc) forms a very important component part of their status. Consequently, their work position in HTO does not indicate their real social and political role. The workers who answered the questionnaire did not form part of a 'linear' workforce that can be identified and distinguished in terms of employment position and status, salary, unionization and other such categories. Their specific interests may not be directly (as we have seen) related to what happens to HTO; in this sense their interests can be the same with regards to wages, but very different as far as their overall position in society is concerned. Their work may only be a means of a safe wage and employment, whilst they participate in other economic and political activities that also form part of their 'workload'. They may speak in terms of class struggle and/or conflict, while at the same time seeking to perpetuate the dominant state of affairs. They may be complaining about the nature of the organization (in this case, HTO), the level of bureaucracy and centralization, whilst at

the same time taking no active action to improve the situation. They may also be complaining about the level of their salaries whilst holding other jobs as well.

Therefore, the formal/informal dichotomy which we discussed earlier has a wide variety of social and political implications that are very important in shaping HTO. As James Petras argues 'staring life of impoverished subordination in the 1950's the new middle strata ... appropriated wealth in large part through 'windfall gains' in real estate, tourism and related non-productive services; it was able to obtain easy loans from a pliant state; it invested in commerce and property; it evaded taxes on a grand scale. Cars multiplied on narrow streets, and after-hours tutorial colleges raked in their fees often within sight of fast-deteriorating public schools. While the massive concrete slabs of apartment blocs scarred the Attic peninsula, Greece was exporting oranges to West Germany and importing orange juice and other products to slake the thirst for 'modern' consumption ... this multilateral drive for economic affluence and social status breeds the peculiar Greek phenomenon of the polymorphous operator - familiar with everything, an expert in nothing. More seriously, it produces a chronic inability to fulfil commitments within the original schedule. Tremendous energy, ambition, high-level education and other background attributes go hand in hand with rather unsatisfactory performance of public duties and responsibilities, except as these directly coincide with private interests. The resulting syndrome is one of the major obstacles to economic modernization in contemporary Greece.'[6] In that sense, the categories that are associated with industry and labour relations also become the 'rituals' through

which political and ideological conflict is expressed, while on another more intricate level the dominant societal mechanisms are reproduced.

5.4 Reviewing industrial organization : Greece, Southern Europe, the EEC

The above discussion indicates an area relatively unexplored by contemporary social science. The evidence from researching HTO (apart from the results analysed in the previous chapter) pointed towards the direction of such a type of analysis. In other words, the obvious categories of labour relations that can be depicted and evaluated in empirical terms, coincide with a whole area of societal determinations that are not so easily identifiable. The contradictory nature of all these elements that shape the areas outside the immediate domain of 'labour relations in HTO', is, in general, a result of those processes which formed the state in Greece and its role in industrialized activity. At the same time, labour, industrial relations and HTO itself are linked to a wider sphere of social, political and economic processes. But on the one hand, HTO constitutes an industrial complex which carries all the particular problems that industry in general may be facing, and on the other it is a constituent element of the wider chain of the 'state sector' with all the peculiar problems that we have described earlier. An examination of HTO that is not related to the underlying societal mechanisms which also characterize its formation, only helps to identify part of the issue.

In a sense, the experience of HTO's situation as a whole, corresponds to the notion of 'underdeveloped development' which we depicted earlier in chapter 4. However, the notion of 'development' itself must be scrutinized and that is a more general theoretical problem. In objective terms (in terms of quantifiable data) HTO and the public sector suffer from chronic syndromes of dependency, bad management, problematic labour relations. In the same terms, the intra-organizational systems of wage relations and productivity enhancement are, more or less, non-existent. But those terms do not adequately define the situation. HTO is also an active part of the public sector and as such it reinforces the traditional patterns that characterize the contemporary economic and social mechanisms. Its 'underdevelopment' although not disputed has provided for the 'development' of a set of social relations which are not identified in institutional terms but are crystallised in the domain of social life in general. Therefore, if the industry is to 'develop', the enhancement of industrial democracy (although very important) is not in itself enough. And to go even further: the provision of workers' participation in the decision-making process does not necessarily lead to the development of the industry since the problem of development is a complex political and economic issue connected to a whole variety of parameters not directly linked to the institutionalization of participation.

The 'dual' position of the labour force in the Greek public sector and the conditions that characterize the process of 'employment', is one of those parameters. Their relationship with the state formation and the fact that it, simultaneously, creates a level of contradiction and acts as a mechanism of diffusion of that

contradiction is, as we have seen an issue whose significance cannot be underestimated. Concurrently, the articulation of labour relations in general (in the public and private sectors) is stigmatized by the 'hegemonic' nature of management. In many areas, management (with the consent of the state) tried to impose particular systems of labour organization, without consulting the workforce. In most cases, these were related to the establishment of productivity-related pay systems, overtime bonuses, breaking down the workforce into different categories and doing away with the wage-indexation. Also, 'flexible' systems of work such as part-time work, subcontracting, and homeworking have had an impact in the overall development of industrial organization and the consequences are similar to those of other European countries. However, many unions in the private sector had difficulties in responding adequately and in forming alternative solutions to industrial problems.

At the same time, informal economic activity also forms part of the 'flexible' techniques used by private industry: 'officially registered workers in textiles, clothing and leather industries account only for 10-20% of those actually working informally in those sectors. Important industrial outworking occurs also in metalworking and furniture (especially in the North) accounting for more than 30% of total production in these two sectors. Regional specializations include textiles, clothing, toys in Greater Athens neighbourhoods, clothing and carpets in Larisa, toys in Zakinthos island, silver jewelry production in Epirus, fur processing in Kastoria, clothing, metalworking, furniture, leather and electronics in the Greater Thessaloniki area.'[7] In many cases those workers who

do not have a job in the public sector, work long hours for relatively low pay. And the role of the state has also been important in this respect (as in the public sector) not only through the fact that it did not create a regulatory framework for all these activities, but also because it actively 'takes advantage of informal piece-work...the Greek Ministry of Defence subcontracts the manufacturing of tents and other light equipment directly to homeworkers in Beotia (near Athens).'[8] Consequently, the patterns of state action that we described earlier in relation to HTO and the public sector are reproduced in the private sector and in the political and economic relations between the state (public) and private sectors.

The impact of this 'balancing act' amongst different interests and groups, employers and workers, unions and management and their respective inter and intra conflicting relations, is certainly great on the system of industrial relations and workers' participation and does require extensive further research which is beyond the scope of the present study.

However, from an international perspective, the importance of the industries that use low-cost labour under the conditions we have described, must not be underestimated. The small 'family-type' enterprise is a predominant factor in the formation of the Greek economy, and the role of the state in supporting (through formal and informal means) the existing structures indicates the scale and the complexity of the issue (Table 1). Therefore the dominant division of labour accompanies the labour relations practices that we have described earlier.

Nevertheless, although there are substantial constraints in the development of the Greek economy, the role of 'internationalization' and the EEC may be quite important in advancing the process of industrial relations, through the creation of a common framework (such as the Social Charter), 'which would pay great attention to various ways of participation and representation of hired labour at the enterprise.'[9] In that sense, the process of European integration has to be accommodated by some shifts in current industrial relations practices. Whether changes will have a positive overall impact on the framework of labour relations, is a problem of immense complexity (as we saw in chapter 2) due to the different and multiple degrees of labour organization and production across Europe. However, industrial relations will slowly cease to be a matter of internal patterns of development; it, and the whole of the economic process, will be subject to international pressures and as a consequence more dependent on international social, political and economic changes. But, the problems of 'harmonisation' of basic labour relations policies remain, and in a way express the distractions that exist on the level of economic relations between a number of European nations.

There are indeed, serious problems in comparing and contrasting between practices various countries follow in relation to industrial development. The processes of 'Taylorism' and 'Fordism' (and subsequently of 'post-Fordism' as well) may be adequate (in relative terms) in explaining a number of similarities and/or differences in the industrialized nations. It is very difficult, though, to apply that set of terminology to countries such as Greece, where the processes we have described earlier take place and where

(% of firms by number of employees)

		1-9	10-49	50-99	>99	Total
Greece	1978	93	5	1	1	100
Italy	1981	85	13	1	1	100
Portugal	1971	79	16	3	2	100
Spain	1978	77	18	2	3	100

		1-99	100-199	>199	Total
UK	1976	17.1	5.5	77.4	100

		1-10	10-99	100-499	500-1999	>2000	Total
France	1980	N/A	18	23	19	40	100

(% of employees by size of firm)

	1-9	10-49	50-99	100-499	>500	Total
W.Germany	8	22	30	5	35	100

Table 1: Differences in industrial organization amongst some European countries.

Source: Williams, A. 1987, The Western European Economy, Hutchinson, p.166.

'industrialization' (at least in terms of manufacturing) does not possess the same characteristics as in the other Western European nations. Subsequently, the systems of wage-regulation have also different characteristics as do the processes of industrial relations and unionization. The Fordist model of accumulation (which in itself does not appear in unilinear fashion in the 'industrialized' nations) with all its component parts (welfare state, particular types of working practices, large-scale industry, etc) may partly apply to some sectors of the economy but overall, it does not provide for an adequate framework of comparison (for example, possibly parts of industrialized Northern Italy and parts of the Spanish economy bear stronger links to the model of Fordist (and/or post-Fordist) system of accumulation). Lipietz (1987) uses the terms 'peripheral Fordism' and 'primitive Taylorization' to indicate the degrees of difference between the 'industrialized' economies and those of the periphery. However, these terms (as we have seen in chapter 1) should be used very carefully.

In Chapter 2, we noted the different patterns that are to be found amongst European nations in terms of their industrial relations practices. However, the position of each nation in the international division of labour may also indicate the degree and direction of changes in labour relations.

The fact that, for example, small-scale industry is dominant in Southern Europe, and the degrees of involvement in the 'informal sector' are quite high, are elements which have to be taken into consideration. In this sense, the term 'flexibility' as applied to the 'post-Fordist' regime of accumulation, has a different

connotation. As we have seen in the case of Greece, 'flexibility' to hold two jobs, does not indicate a general re-orientation of the economy towards more modern techniques of economic development. The long-term problems of the Greek economy (which include tax-evasion and informalization) are strongly linked to the nature and the expression of the relationship between the public and private sector, the medium-sized to small industry and the employment of cheap (flexible?) labour under bad working conditions and with no real control of its labour practices. In this sense the problem of labour subordination is very real. In Southern Europe those practices are very common: 'In Portugal 20% of all work in industry is informal concentrated mainly in textiles, clothing and footwear along the north coastal region and the centre ... in Spain, vertical disintegration in traditional sectors like textiles and clothing has generated informal work accounting for 25-50% of total employment in those sectors.'[10]

On the other hand, changes affecting the international economy have had a serious impact on economic development in the south. However, that was expressed in different parts of industry, and society. Greece, for example, was not able to adjust to the changing circumstances, while Italy (and to a certain extent Spain) was able to drastically improve its economic situation. In this sense, 'the Greek economy's moderate growth was not associated with any significant structural changes. The quantitative growth was due largely to the additional growth of the main elements of the production system - rather than to any restructuring of the system itself. For example, in manufacturing, the established inter-industry structure which favoured the export activity towards

the EEC of certain traditional industries and some 'intermediate' goods, and the growth of some other industries producing 'consumer' or 'intermediate' goods for the growing internal market remained unchanged.'[11] Also, the 'inefficient' structure of the 'over-expanded' public sector ... prevented the better utilization of the resources and its effective contribution to the necessary structure changes. The lack of planning ability of the Greek state became even more important. Its anti-inflationary policies and the attempt to increase private investment (by providing even more capital-intensive incentives) was in sharp contradiction to the demands of the economy.'[12]

Therefore, the economic development that occurred in Greece prior to its full admission into the EEC (1961-1980), was not accompanied by sharp changes in the basis of its production system. Table 2 illustrates the relative shifts in industrial output, but these do not indicate real qualitative changes. The position of Greece in relation to other Southern European nations (and also to major industrialized countries) is further illustrated if we compared the indices related to share of world industrial production and manufacturing exports (Table 3).

Consequently, Southern Europe as a region, presents a variety of different economic (and political) approaches to the issue of European integration and to the globalization process. Different degrees of industrialization and of the general organization of industry make it very difficult firstly to attach theoretical evaluations which stem from the experience of other industrial nations, and secondly, to prescribe the direction of labour

relations in those countries. The political and social configuration in each country will be a determinant factor of the whole process. However, the contemporary climate of integration and internationalization may direct, in part, social and economic changes. The 'social' aspect is very important in this context. Although, capital mobility is reinforced because of the process of integration, the reaction of the union movement across Europe (through some kind of 'internationalization' of the movement itself) will be important in shaping future labour relations practices. The disparities that exist in the level of economic development and which have persisted in the EEC despite the growth patterns, have not only been expressed in the enlarged gap between the richest and poorest regions, but also in significant differences related to wage levels. As table 4 shows, Denmark maintains the highest hourly rates of payment, alongside W. Germany, Belgium and Holland. The level of wages are lower in category b (UK, France, Ireland, Italy). Finally, Spain, Greece and Portugal came last, although the Spanish average has increased quite drastically between 1970 and 1987. Greece and Portugal have a slower overall increase throughout the seventeen year period, although the rates of increase between Greece and the UK have come closer.

Those figures, although not absolutely adequate in illustrating real disparities, nevertheless indicate important patterns and trends amongst EEC nations. They also show that EEC regional policies have not been successfully implemented throughout the community since disparities have grown not only amongst the 'peripheral' nations but also between the 'developed' countries

	(%)			
	1963	1969	1974	1979
Food/Drink/Tobacco	22.3	18.9	17.8	18.8
Textile Industries	14.8	14.7	15.9	18.1
Clothing/Footwear	11.6	9.4	9.5	9.1
Timber/Furniture	6.1	6.6	5.1	4.6
Paper	5.8	5.6	4.0	4.1
Chemical Industries	7.8	1.3	12.5	13.0
Mineral Industries	7.1	7.1	7.4	8.5
Metal Industries	1.7	6.1	7.0	5.9
Machinery	13.2	13.6	13.0	11.1
Transport	6.6	4.1	5.0	4.2
Other Industries	3.3	2.7	2.7	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 2 : Compositions of industrial output.

Source : Dimokratiki Panepistimoniki Kinisi 1984, EEC and the problems of Greek industry, Gutenberg, p.59

	Industrial Production		Manufactured Exports	
	1963	1977	1963	1976
USA	40.3	36.9	17.2	13.6
W.Germany	9.7	8.9	15.5	15.8
UK	6.5	4.2	11.1	6.6
France	6.3	6.2	7.0	7.4
Japan	5.6	9.1	6.0	11.4
Italy	3.4	3.3	4.7	5.5
Spain	0.9	1.6	0.3	1.1
Portugal	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2
Greece	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.2
S.Korea	0.1	0.7	0.1	1.2

Table 3 : Share of selected countries in industrial production and world manufacturing exports.

Source : Williams, A (Ed) 1984, Southern Europe Transformed, Harper and Row, p.191.

				Annual Changes	% (Denmark = 100)	
		1970	1987	1987/70	1970	1987
	Denmark[1]	1.99	10.46	10.3	100.0	100.0
a)	Belgium	1.30	7.06	10.5	65.3	67.5
	W.Germany	1.66	8.54	10.1	83.4	81.6
	Holland	1.30	7.45	10.8	65.3	71.2
	France	1.04	5.84	10.7	52.3	55.8
b)	Ireland	0.99	6.04	11.3	49.7	57.7
	Italy	0.99	5.94	11.1	49.7	56.8
	UK	1.29	5.97	9.4	64.8	57.1
	Spain	0.55	5.16	14.0	27.6	49.3
c)	Greece	0.52	2.57	9.8	26.1	24.6
	Portugal	-	1.51	-	-	14.4

Table 4 : Average (gross) hourly pay-rates of industrial workers (in ECU).

Source : Oikonomikos Tahidromos, 1989, p.66

1. Denmark has the highest rate. All other countries compared to Denmark = 100.

themselves. In this sense, the EEC's latest 'economic growth' was not expressed, at all times, in terms of better wage negotiations for employees. The location of industrial relations and workers' participation, in the general system of EEC integration, has to be reviewed under the light of inter-European capital-labour negotiations, patterns of inequality and the role of the union movement.

At the same time it is very difficult to evaluate each country's situation : in theoretical terms the 'tools' that have been in use until now ('core', 'periphery', 'Fordism', 'unionization', etc) are not, as we have seen, quite adequate in comparing and explaining the current social, political and economic conditions. The complexity of the modern world and the appearance of new factors (that co-exist with the old) has had a profound impact not only on capital-labour relations, but on social relations as a whole. As a consequence, the approach to these issues has to be reformulated in terms of today's complex and interdependent world, which having gone through the transition period of the 1980's requires alternative evaluations for its development through the 1990's.

Notes and References

1. The Independent, 4 November, 1989.

2. The Guardian, 28th July, 1989.

3. The Confederation of Telecommunications Employees is constituted of ten major unions which represent the different types of employees found in HTO. The most important ones are the unions of technicians, engineers and administrative employees. Those three unions comprise altogether of almost 24 thousand members out of 30 thousand HTO employees. The union of engineers is particularly strong and has had traditionally influential links with governments of past and present. One of the secretaries in the union's main office in Athens said confidentially that the union's main belief is that they have to continue to be strong and influential under any cost. As she said: 'their mentality is that in hierarchical terms, first is God and then the engineers'. There are also about 1,000 employees who do not belong to any union. Finally, the telephone operators union has never formed part of the Confederation. It is important to note that most members of that union are women - see also note 4.

4. It is also interesting to note that out of 290 delegates at that conference, only 2 per cent were women representatives. The problems of gender were apparent throughout the survey as we have already seen. In a couple of cases whilst visiting HTO offices to collect questionnaires women refused to answer. When they were questioned why they do not wish to answer, they said that they just did not have any problems with their colleagues and did not want to damage their relationship with the supervisor. In both cases they were members of the technical staff holding office jobs (graphics department). In general, the problem seemed to be much deeper than what those objections reflected. The trade unions have no particular policies with regards to female employment issues. The RCSC committee did not have a woman representative, and at no time during the whole of the survey period was the issue raised either amongst trade unionists or amongst women themselves. Therefore, it is clear that this is an important social issue emerging from the situation in HTO, which no doubt forms part of a wider societal network. However, it is very difficult to make valid evaluations on the exact nature of the problem. In terms of salaries, women were part of the same wage negotiations and as such their pay was on the same levels as that of male employees. Consequently, the root of the problem lies in the general formation of Greek society. At the same time, the actions undertaken by various organisations (political parties, trade unions, etc) to promote problems of

representation and inequality have been non-existent. That particular issue requires further investigation in order to determine the specific causes, which is beyond the scope of the present study. See also Labour Research 1990, Europe's union women, No. 3 p.10 where the number of women (across Europe) that hold positions of responsibility in the trade union movement is examined. In Greece the number of women union general secretaries/presidents is only 3 out of 84 (4%). In Belgium, Ireland, Luxembourg and Portugal it is 0%. In the UK it is only 6%.

5. The issue of productivity-related pay is another example in this context. The survey (see chapter 4) indicated that almost over half of HTO's employees supported some kind of prp. However, the unions were against it and employees actually supported them. The evidence from a survey that took place during 1989 corresponded to our results in relation to prp. The survey was undertaken by the Labour Centre of Athens and 2000 people were questioned on various issues including prp. The result (60 per cent in favour of some sort of system) indicates strongly the problem we are describing. The answer to how it is possible to favour the idea and at the same time be prepared to mobilise against it, surely remains open to debate.

6. Petras, J. 1987. 'The Contradictions of Greek Socialism'. New Left Review 163, p.10.

7. Hadjimichalis, C. and Vaiou D. 1989. 'Whose flexibility? The politics of Informalisation in Southern Europe'. IAAD/SCG Conference, University of Durham, p.6.

8. ibid, p.14.

9. Delors, J. 1989. 'Europe on the way to 1992'. International Affairs, No.11, p.19.

10. Hadjimichalis, C. and Vaiou, D. 1989, p.6.

11. Stathakis, G. 1983, Industrial Development and the Regional Problem : the case of Greece, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, pp. 329-331.

12. ibid, pp.331-332.

CONCLUSION

The issue of industrial relations and workers' participation in the Greek Telecommunications Sector is strongly linked to the more general mode of development of the national economic, political and social relations.

Industrial relations as a whole, became (especially during the 1980's when workers' participation was introduced as part of a wider economic and industrial re-organization) an additional area over which the politics of confrontation were articulated. The problems related to the promotion of industrial participation in Greece (but also in any societal context) have to be seen within the specific context of a particular type of development. In other words, industrial relations formations represent a 'product' of the state of capital-labour and political relations within a certain, historically defined, socio-economic environment.

However, the space which a particular socio-economic environment occupies is also part of a wider universe of interlinked environments. These are related directly and indirectly to the labour process itself. Hence, the 'external' and 'internal' processes examined in the first two chapters have to be seen in relation to one another. At the same time because the universe of social relations as a whole is not a linear formation but one that is founded on a variety of different non-static elements, the labour process and labour relations constitute categories that are also in motion. In that sense, any theoretical clarifications of those processes have to take into consideration at least some of the characteristics of their 'exterior' environment.

There is nevertheless, a series of important problems : firstly, existing accounts of social and economic relations have been using a variety of notions which signified possible trends of development. These notions have tended to become theoretical constructs in which societal formations had to fit. The unity and homogeneity of a set of theoretical evaluations was transferred to explanations of society in general. That scheme of considerations assumed the existence of a singular path of explanation. However, explanations themselves exist in a particular historical location. Therefore, their 'unity' with the given historical universe is, in a sense, fixed. Possible changes and shifts in the articulation of social and economic relations signify possible transitions and transformations of theoretical constructs, in order to re-discover explanations of societal development.

On a second level of analysis, such theoretical assumptions were also used to examine and evaluate the formation of industrial relations and workers' participation structures. But these structures were turned into 'absolute' concepts of scientific discourse. In other words, industrial participation as a whole was isolated from the mechanisms that produce it and evaluated in relation to a system of pre-given ideas that asserted what the exact nature of participation should be. At the same time discussions of industrial relations and workers' participation also followed the classical empirical trend of isolated case studies. The above two categories, sometimes coincided (one borrowed parts of the other) and generated what we have in general called Industrial Relations. We are here presented with a concept of a particular type of societal formation which attempted to make evaluations based upon preconceived ideological modes of thought. The various formations of industrial

relations were related with theoretical constructs such as 'working class unity', 'democratization' and even 'managerial relations', and the other forms examined in chapter 2. Instead of locating the system of industrial relations within the wider network of social, economic and political trajectories the latter were, more or less, excluded and the former was presented either in terms of its relationship to preconceived categories of thought or in relation to evidence that illustrated its form and substantiated problems of labour subordination (or emancipation). However, Industrial Relations is not in the position to answer such problems, because it is a (necessarily so) closed system of explanation.

Let us return to the issue of the construction (or reconstruction) of theory. The articulation and development of social relations as a whole is linked to the production process, but the explanation of societal phenomena can neither be solely dependent upon the formation of that process, nor can it be 'total' and 'absolute'. The categories of societal relations examined in chapter 1 (but also in other parts of this work) reflect only part of the problem. The social and economic transformations (from colonialism to imperialism to different sorts of dependency to Post-Fordism and 'flexibility') are the general characteristics of modern development each reflecting in a specific way the industrial relations process. Those categories serve only as partial explanations of global societal development. They are 'dispersed' amongst the different types of labour relations practices examined in chapter 2, through the impact they have had on the societal development of different countries. But, these are not the only processes that have penetrated into the national systems of

social, economic and political relations. Or, to put it in other words, those relations and their 'products' cannot be solely conceived as the results of the afore-mentioned processes. The third type of problem, therefore, lies in the forms theoretical reconstruction takes to explain contemporary phenomena, and whether it is possible to articulate a variety of different elements related to what theory is attempting to explain, without creating linear and geometric types of explanation.

That particular problem was identified with respect to the notions of 'core'-'periphery', 'Fordism-post-Fordism', 'New Times' and also in relation to classifications and explanations used by Industrial Relations. The Greek example and the development of industrial relations and workers' participation in the Telecommunications Sector, are significant indications of the complex type of problem raised above. On one hand, the question of industrial relations in the Telecommunications Sector seems to be straight forward: the instigation of an institutionalized form of labour relations did not have the results that would have been important in claiming that the system actually worked. The survey quite clearly indicated that and identified a whole area of industrial problems.

On the other hand, however, the issue is not that simple. The above interpretation illustrates one aspect of the problem and does not by itself, explain the reasons for the apparent failure of the system. There is first of all the question of Greek social and economic development and the location of Greece in the system of

international relations. The specific forms that that development has taken are important factors which influenced labour relations practices. On the economic level, the process of industrialization and the particular type of relations Greece developed with the international economy, have shaped the specific features of the national economy. At the same time there have been significant developments at the level of political relations, especially during the 1950's and following the restoration of democracy in the 1970's.

However, the effect of the political and economic processes on the level of the articulation of social relations as a whole is a complex issue. Greece emerged from the Second World War and the Civil War almost completely destroyed and it was not able to take full advantage of Marshall Aid. Although the pattern of 'Fordist' accumulation was not adequately established as in other European nations, there was nevertheless economic development albeit with a variety of specificities. National and international disparities (which had already begun to be established in the 19th century) continued to be important in shaping Europe in the post-war years. In short, despite the economic development that occurred in Greece, there has been little evidence of real qualitative change as we have seen in chapters 3, 4 and 5. The role of the public sector is also important since it remained one of the major 'instruments' of economic development. However, the role of the public sector is dual : it served the purposes of economic and industrial development, while at the same time creating the dominant political environment for the expression of antagonistic relations. That, together with the particular role of the public sector as

'employer', illustrates the position of the state as a domain of social struggle and also as an area that created and reproduced a complex network of societal activity.

The Telecommunications Sector itself is no exception to the general configuration of Greek social relations. The problems that the industry is facing are many and complex, as we saw in chapter 4. In a sense though, they do not differ very much from the general level of Greek industrial development. In these terms, the Telecommunications Sector does not constitute a particularly different 'unit' which can be examined in isolation from the general specificities of Greek development.

The problems of low productivity, old infrastructure, non-rational employment policies etc do not in themselves signify anything particularly distinctive, apart from the overall effects they might have on the economy and/or on the consumer. The 'underdeveloped development' of the Telecommunications Sector fits very well into the general pattern of Greek 'micro-capitalism' (a term used by Vergopoulos). However, the specific 'structures' of economic and political relations and the reproduction of a particular network of social and ideological relations across the public sector, has had a substantial effect on how the industry is functioning. The problems of the Telecommunications industry cannot be evaluated and/or resolved by using classical types of organizational analysis. All these issues have to be examined in the context of the specific nature of Greek societal relations as a whole. In that sense, even the categories of 'unionization' and

'industrial conflict' have to be de-constructed and re-evaluated. The processes that determined the formulation and establishment of industrial relations and workers' participation techniques are more important in delineating the 'secondary' processes of relations at the workplace. There are two points that need further clarification in this context: firstly, the apparent problems with industrial relations in the Telecommunications industry, express the levels of antagonistic relations that exist not only within the industry but throughout the public sector. However, as we saw in chapter 5, that does not necessarily mean that these relations are contradictory. On the more general level of political relations as a whole (and as we saw from the survey) employees accepted the principle of industrial participation as long as it was to be truly institutionally established. Secondly, and this is a more general point, there is no particular reason to suggest that the normal functioning of some form of industrial participation would drastically alter the other characteristics of the industry and of the public sector as a whole. The normal functioning of industrial relations mechanisms does not necessarily translate into different conditions for industrial development and it does not mean that the more general societal processes that shape industrial development have changed.

In addition, it is also not easily clarified (if indeed it can be clarified at all) whether the establishment of industrial participation means that the actual position of the labour force within the industry will change. The evidence is contradictory (as we saw in chapter 2) in relation to this particular issue, i.e. the

connection between industrial relations as a whole and shifts in or transformations of the role of labour in the capital-labour formation. In the case of the Telecommunications Sector (and of the Greek public sector in general) this type of connection is even more ambiguous. The employment position of the labour force, as examined in chapter 5, indicates that there is a lot more that influences the work process than the simple categories expressed in Industrial Relations literature. The Telecommunications employee is not a 'unified product' of the industry or of the union. The position and the role of the employee does not solely depend upon educational and/or class background. The employee's own perceptions of his/her role in the industry is an agglomeration of different factors some of which we examined in chapter 5. Therefore, evaluations of the work process and of industrial relations and participation have to incorporate a level of analysis which will synthesize the composition of the workforce with the formations of societal relations (that include political, economic and ideological relationships) and the role of the public sector. Such a type of analysis will provide explanations for the not so easily identifiable elements that shape social relations inside and outside the place of work.

Lastly, the role of European integration is important, as we have seen, in shaping future developments in industrial relations practices. The Social Charter may provide for a common link between different nations in bringing together various national industrial relations policies and as a consequence improving conditions. However, as we saw in chapters 2 and 5, disparities remain great

both on the level of industrial relations and of the regional economies. Once again the evidence is plentiful to illustrate those differences, but contradictory insofar as the general direction of labour relations is concerned. The fact that in many cases inter- and intra-regional disparities have grown, shows that it is impossible to make accurate future predictions.

However, industrial relations and workers' participation forms part of European integration (and of global restructuring) and therefore 'local' developments and issues have to be seen within that context. The analytical framework that will be used to examine those issues has to compromise between the international developments and the national conditions, between the 'external' factors that influence industrial relations and the 'internal' modes of work organization; between the concrete examples and theory. All that is not easy, but it is possible as long as 'open' perspectives are adopted which recognize the fluidity of history.

APPENDIX I

Questionnaire used in the survey of Telecommunications Employees

1. AGE: .....

2. GENDER: MALE.....FEMALE.....

3. JOB DESCRIPTION: a) engineer...b) administrative employee.....

   c) non-administrative employee.....

   d) technical staff.....

   e) other.....

4. PLACE OF JOB:.....

5. PERIOD EMPLOYED: Years.....

6. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND: a) school.....

   b) college.....

   c) university.....

   d) postgraduate.....

7. IS YOUR LEVEL OF EDUCATION RELATED TO YOUR JOB? YES....NO....

8. IF NO, WHY?

9. HAS THE CORPORATION ASSISTED YOU IN FURTHER TRAINING WHILST AN EMPLOYEE?

   YES.....NO.....

10. IF YES, WHAT WAS THE NATURE OF YOUR TRAINING?

11. DOES YOUR EDUCATION/TRAINING, PLAY A ROLE IN PROMOTION AND SALARY?

    YES.....NO.....

12. IF NO, WHY?

13. DO YOU THINK THAT YOUR PRESENT SALARY CORRESPONDS TO YOUR WORK LOAD?

    YES.....NO.....

14. DO YOU THINK THAT YOUR BASIC WAGE SHOULD INCLUDE WAGE-INDEXATION?

    YES.....NO.....

15. DO YOU THINK THAT PRODUCTIVITY-RELATED PAY SCHEMES SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED?

    YES.....NO.....

16. IF YES, HOW DO YOU THINK PRODUCTIVITY-RELATED PAY SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED? a) individually, including present salary.....

    b) to the whole unit of the workplace and in addition to present salary.....

17. DO YOU THINK THAT YOUR PRESENT SALARY IS BETTER THAN YOU COULD OBTAIN ELSEWHERE? YES.....NO.....

18. DO YOU REGARD THE SALARY AS THE MOST IMPORTANT INCENTIVE IN KEEPING YOUR JOB? YES.....NO.....

19. HOW IMPORTANT ARE OVERTIME AND BONUSES TO YOUR STANDARD OF LIVING?

    very important.....

    quite important.....

    not important.....

20. TO WHAT EXTENT ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH YOUR PRESENT JOB?

    very satisfied.....

    satisfied.....

    not satisfied.....

21. DO YOU THINK THAT WORKING CONDITIONS SHOULD BE IMPROVED?

    YES.....NO.....

22. IF YES, HOW?

23. DO YOU HAVE JOB RELATED PROBLEMS? YES.....NO.....

24. IF YES, ARE THESE PROBLEMS RELATED TO ANY OF THE FOLLOWING:

    a) relations with workmates.....

    b) relations with supervisor.....

    c) place of work

    d) personal/other reasons.....

25. DO YOU THINK THAT ANY OF THESE PROBLEMS CAN BE RESOLVED?

    YES.....NO.....

26. IF YES, DO YOU THINK THAT THE UNION IS IMPORTANT IN RESOLVING THESE PROBLEMS? YES.....NO.....

27. HOW OFTEN DO YOU VOTE FOR UNION REPRESENTATIVES.

    always.....often.....never.....

28. HOW OFTEN DO YOU ATTEND UNION MEETINGS?

    always.....often.....never.....

29. DO YOU THINK THAT THE UNION SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE

    DECISION-MAKING PROCESS? YES..... NO.....

30. DO YOU THINK THAT YOU SHOULD PARTICIPATE MORE IN THE

    DECISION-MAKING PROCESS? YES.....NO.....

31. DO YOU GET INFORMATION ABOUT RCSC MEETINGS?

    always.....often.....never.....

32. DOES YOUR RCSC REPRESENTATIVE CONSULT YOU BEFORE THE MEETING?

    always.....often.....never.....

33. DO YOU THINK THAT RCSC HELPED IN IMPROVING YOUR SALARY?

    YES....NO....

34. DO YOU THINK THAT RCSC HELPED IN IMPROVING YOUR WORKING CONDITIONS?

    YES.....NO.....

35. DOES YOUR SUPERVISOR CONSULT YOU BEFORE ANY DECISION IS TAKEN?

    always.....often.....never.....

36. DO YOU THINK THAT REGULATIONS ON WORKERS DISPUTES SHOULD BE

    STRUCTURED BY JOINT CONSULTATION? YES.....NO.....

37. DO YOU REGARD PROVISIONS IN RELATION TO SICK-PAY AS ADEQUATE?

    YES.....NO.....

38. DO YOU REGARD PROVISIONS IN RELATION TO PREGNANCY LEAVE AS ADEQUATE?

    YES.....NO.....

39. DO YOU CONSIDER THE CORPORATIONS HOLIDAY PROVISIONS AS ADEQUATE?

YES.....NO.....

40. DO YOU KNOW OF PARTICIPATION SCHEMES ANYWHERE ELSE IN W. EUROPE?

YES.....NO.....

41. IF YES, WHERE?

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